Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-183 *20 September 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Arrives in New York for UN Assembly *[TASS]* 1
Examines Delegations' Tasks at UN *[TASS]* 1
Russian Delegation Discusses UN Membership *[TASS]* 2
Gorbachev Tells Socialist Delegation CPSU Goals *[PRAVDA 19 Sep]* 2
'Resolute Steps' in Trade Liberalization Foreseen *[TASS]* 3
More on Changes in Soviet Diplomatic Service *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 3

United States & Canada

Secretary Brady Continues Consultations in Moscow 4
Meets Silayev, Agrees on Food Credits *[Radio Rossii]* 4
Talks With Yavlinskiy, Chernyayev *[INTERFAX]* 4
Gorbachev Relates Post-Coup Reforms *[INTERFAX]* 4
Gorbachev Describes Economic Union *[TASS]* 4
Says Gorbachev Talks 'Very Successful' *[TASS]* 5
Brady Briefed on State of Economy *[Moscow TV]* 5
Views Banking System With Geraschenko *[INTERFAX]* 5
U.S. Seen To 'Pressure' Soviet Republics *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 6

Near East & South Asia

U.S.-Soviet Accord Breakthrough in Afghan War *[TASS]* 7
Afghans Invited to Moscow *[AFP]* 7
'Major Step' Toward Peace *[Moscow Radio]* 7
'Friendly' Message From King Fahd to Gorbachev *[TASS]* 8
Belonogov Thanks Tunisia for Loyalty During Coup *[TASS]* 8
Defense Minister Receives Indian Ambassador *[TASS]* 9

West Europe

Pankin Answers Newsmens' Questions in Stockholm *[TASS]* 9
Views Baltics-N. Europe Cooperation *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 10
Soviet Economic Delegation in London for Talks *[TASS]* 11
Delegation to Brussels, Talks Focus on EC Aid *[TASS]* 11
Agreement Signed with German Industry Association 12
'Joint Task' for Progress *[Berlin ADN]* 12
Differences To Be Resolved *[INTERFAX]* 12
Socialist International to Discuss Aid to USSR *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 12
Cooperation Discussed With Italy's Andreotti *[TASS]* 13
Italian Defense Minister Leaves for St. Petersburg *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 13

Latin America & Caribbean

Deputy Foreign Minister Leaves for Cuba *[TASS]* 13
Commentary Notes U.S. Reluctance To Leave Cuba *[Moscow International]* 13
Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Chilean Envoy *[TASS]* 14

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Bakatin Abolishes KGB Internal Directorate *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 15
Deputy KGB Chairman Shebarshin Resigns *[TASS]* 15
Chief KGB Analyst Lauds U.S. Security Model *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 15
Shevardnadze Reviews Post-Putsch Events *[Moscow TV]* 17
On Defense Conversion, Republics *[INTERFAX]* 18
Afanasyev Evaluates Changes in Soviet Union *[Moscow TV]* 20
Rise, Fall of 'Perestroyka Parliament' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* 22
Interrepublican Communications Conference Held *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Sep]* 23
Poll Shows 'Social Morale' at Low Level *[PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 24
Drug Clinic Chief Interviewed on Local Problem *[PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 24

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA on Complaints of Subscription Problems *[14 Sep]* 24
TASS Reviews 20 September Central Press 25

Economic

Officials Agree on IMF Membership Terms *[INTERFAX]* 26
Aid Conditional on 'Adherence' to Market *[IZVESTIYA 12 Sep]* 26
Republics' Economic Interrelations Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 27
Programs Must Consider Individual Interests *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 28
State Bank Loses Control Over Money Printing *[Russian TV]* 29
Computations Indicate 'Hyperinflation' Exists *[Russian TV]* 29
Aeroflot Republic Branches Seek Independence *[INTERFAX]* 29
Advertisement for Universal Commodity Exchange *[TASS]* 30

Agricultural

Minister Predicts No Famine; Shortages Possible *[Moscow International]* 30
Commodities Official Discusses Grain Marketing *[TASS]* 30
Latest Grain Harvest Forecasts 'Inspire Hope' *[Moscow TV]* 31
Early Sep Weather, Crop Conditions Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 17 Sep]* 31

Military

Shaposhnikov Comments on Defense Ministry Tasks *[Radio Rossii]* 32
On All-Union Defense Structure *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 20 Sep]* 36

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

Republics Discussing Economic Ties With USSR *[TASS]* 41
Sixth Consultative Meeting Opens in Tallinn *[Tallinn Radio]* 41

Estonia

Savisaar on Talks With St. Petersburg Officials *[Tallinn Radio]* 41
Border Review 'Inadmissible' *[BALTFAX]* 41
Savisaar, Azerbaijan Sign Cooperation Agreements *[BALTFAX]* 42
Parliament Postpones Citizenship Ruling *[TASS]* 42
Lack of USSR Grain Shipments Noted *[Tallinn Radio]* 42
Self-Defense Training To Begin 1 Oct *[BALTFAX]* 42

Latvia

Shaposhnikov Visits Baltic Military District *[TASS]* 43
Citizenship Question Key to Politics *[BALTFAX]* 43
Prosecutor: Inquiry Into Nationalist's Remarks *[BALTFAX]* 43

Lithuania

Landsbergis Seeks Good Relations With USSR *[Radio Vilnius]* 43
Landsbergis Rejects USSR Army Housing Proposal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 44
Soviet Commander on Troop Pullout *[Radio Vilnius]* 44
Landsbergis Comments on Polish Minority Issue *[Warsaw TV]* 44
No Agreement on Ethnic Areas *[BALTFAX]* 45
Germany Agrees To Provide Agricultural Equipment *[Radio Vilnius]* 45
New Head of KGB Liquidation Commission Named *[INTERFAX]* 45
Investigator: Military 'Committed' Murders *[BALTFAX]* 45
Banks Authorized To Freeze Party Accounts *[Radio Vilnius]* 45

RSFSR

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin's Condition Updated; Deputies Speculate 46
Daughter Says President at Dacha *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 46
'Illness' Seen as 'Tactical Move' *[TASS]* 46
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Transcaucasia Trip Postponed 46
Brady Conference Cancelled *[INTERFAX]* 46
Doctors Do Not Recommend Visit *[Radio Rossii]* 46
Sources Confirm Itinerary *[INTERFAX]* 46
Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Continues 20 Sep 47
Morning Assembly Summarized *[Moscow Radio]* 47
'Extremely Stormy Atmosphere' *[TASS]* 48
Khasbulatov Opens Parliament *[Russian TV]* 48
Lobov Views Economic Prospects *[Russian TV]* 50
Lazarev on Execution of Budgets *[Russian TV]* 54
Session To Adopt Statements *[TASS]* 55
Komissarov Appointment Endorsed *[Radio Rossii]* 55
Anticrisis Program 'Unsatisfactory' *[TASS]* 55

Local Affairs

Chechen-Ingush Situation Gradually Settling Down *[TASS]* 56
St. Petersburg's Sobchak Urges Western Help *[London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 19 Sep]* 56

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belorussia

Supreme Council Votes To Change Name to Belarus *[TASS]* 57
Belorussian Law on Property Published *[cross-reference]* 57

Ukraine

First Presidential Campaign in 'Full Swing' *[Kiev Radio]* 57
Contenders on Nuclear Arms Issue *[Kiev Radio]* 57
Candidate on Nuclear-Free Zone *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 19 Sep]* 58
Republic Supreme Soviet Session Continues *[Kiev Radio]* 58
Plans To Import Grain, Pay in Gold Denied *[TASS]* 58
Hard Currency Loans Needed for Grain Purchase *[TASS]* 59
Regional Communists Said To Work Underground *[INTERFAX]* 59
Ukrainian Law on 1991 Budget Published *[cross-reference]* 59

Moldova

Supreme Soviet Passes Presidential Election Law *[INTERFAX]* 59
Elections Scheduled for 8 Dec *[TASS]* 59
Russian Delegation Issues Communique on Moldova *[Bucharest Radio]* 59
Hopes for Place in European Interstate Relations *[TASS]* 60
Prime Minister Muravschi Receives Australian Envoy *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 60
Military Official Cited on New Armed Forces *[TASS]* 61
Servicemen Concerned *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 61
Agriculture Minister Views Privatization Issues *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 61
Dnestr Region Conflict Continues Unresolved 62
Railway Blockade Continues *[INTERFAX]* 62
Incident Complicates Settlement *[TASS]* 62
Snegur Ends Investigations *[Moscow Radio]* 62

CAUCASUS

Georgia

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Begins 19 Sep *[Radio Rossii]* 63
President Admits Deterioration *[TASS]* 63
Gamsakhurdia Says Leaders Share Blame *[INTERFAX]* 63
Opposition Blocks Communists Expulsion *[AFP]* 64
Gamsakhurdia Responds to Opposition's Criticism *[Prague Radio]* 64
Opposition Parties Comment on Political Situation 64
Centrists Reissue Resignation Demand *[INTERFAX]* 64
Chanturia Sees Democratic Revolution *[TASS]* 65
Chanturia's Release Demanded *[INTERFAX]* 65
Tbilisi Protest Groups Outline Demands *[SVOBONDAYA GRUZIYA 14 Sep]* 65
Foreign Minister Responds to RSFSR Statement *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 13 Sep]* 66
Kutateladze Appointed Deputy Defense Minister *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 12 Sep]* 68
Shakeup Reported in National Guard Administration *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 11 Sep]* .. 68
Attitudes to Transcausus District Troops Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 68

Armenia

Presidential Election Fields Nine Candidates *[INTERFAX]* 69
Yeltsin NKAO Visit, Recent Clashes Viewed *[Yerevan International]* 69
Parliament Recognizes Georgian Independence *[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 14 Sep]* 70

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov on Republic's Obligations, Iranian Ties *[TASS]* 70
People's Front Leader Wants National Army *[INTERFAX]* 70

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Record Low Grain Harvest Expected *[Moscow International]* 71

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev To Seek Developing Country Status at UN *[INTERFAX]* 71

Tajikistan

Aslonov Applies To Leave Communist Party *[INTERFAX]* 71

Uzbekistan

Shakhlo Makhmudova Appointed Foreign Minister *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Defense Minister Views Ministry Tasks *[Tashkent Radio]* 71
Party Activities in Government, Schools Banned *[Tashkent Radio]* 71
Muruntau Gold Field Ranked Among World's Largest *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 72

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Arrives in New York for UN Assembly

LD1909220191 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] New York September 20 TASS—"I believe that the main objective of my visit is to tell the United Nations what today's Soviet Union is, what its message to the world is and what it awaits from the international community at the current stage of its democratic development," Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said upon his arrival here on Thursday.

"The Soviet Union is a strong power, which is currently at a critical stage of its development. Sovereign republics, making up my country, are uniting their efforts to resolve numerous political and economic tasks and accelerate their movement towards democracy, civil society and a rule-of-law state," Pankin said.

"The failure of the putsch has boosted the process, and we should use the chance," Pankin said.

"I am planning to meet many people here. On Friday, I will take part in the U.N. international conference on Chernobyl. I intend to call on the international community for solidarity and aid in cleaning the aftermath of the international disaster. I will also meet my colleagues, foreign ministers," Pankin said.

"The schedule of my visit includes meetings with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, with whom we held fruitful talks in Moscow. We will continue talks on a broad range of bilateral and international issues," Pankin said.

"I am planning to meet the G-7 foreign ministers to discuss economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and its joining the international economic community. With Baker, we will hold talks on the Middle East," Pankin said.

"Agreement has been reached about meetings with the Israeli foreign minister and Palestinian representatives. I believe there will be not time to be bored, like in all previous days in Moscow," Pankin said.

Asked about Russian President Boris Yeltsin's health, Pankin said "I said good-bye to him before leaving. He was cheerful and energetic. He wished me success, as well as President Mikhail Gorbachev. As for Yeltsin's health, it was a slight indisposition. But I believe everything will be all right".

Pankin told correspondents he had arrived in New York after a two-day working visit to Sweden.

Examines Delegations' Tasks at UN

LD2009101491 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations September 20 TASS—"The Soviet delegation arrived in New York at a crucial time as our society is going through a dramatic period of the drastic renewal and formation of a new union of truly free states bound by common ideals," Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said in a TASS interview on Thursday. He arrived here as head of the Soviet delegation at the 46th UN General Assembly session.

"Our Herculean task is to speak the language of the new union that came into being after the putsch, to tell the world community what the Soviet Union is today," Pankin stressed.

"The failure of the coup attempt demonstrated that democratic transformations in our country are irreversible and the people living in it seek to take a worthy place in the world community of civilised states. Everything that impeded the movement forward has been removed today. In taking important major steps, we should complete the de-ideologisation of our foreign policy.

"Here, we will confirm anew our state's commitment to its international obligations, including in the area of arms limitation and reduction, the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, human rights protection and foreign economic ties.

"We will reiterate that our nuclear weapons will continue to be in reliable hands and we will unswervingly pursue the course of radical reforms in all areas of life in the future as well. Simultanesously, we will note that the USSR needs emergency foreign aid to solve serious problems, primarily to supply the population with food and medicines.

"The Soviet delegation arrived at the session with the firm intention to engage in constructive work and specific business. At the point when the cold war is over and a new world order is being established, the United Nations is meant to become a central link in shaping a common planet-wide space, in which the efforts of all states will combine to ensure guaranteed stability and a lasting peace."

Pankin singled out the fact the Soviet delegation at the 46th General Assembly session includes representatives of the majority of the Soviet Union's republics.

"Involving them with the Union in the United Nations' activity will, in our profound conviction, meet the goals of lending a universal nature to the organisation and solidifying its strategic position in the evolving structure of international relations of a new quality.

"Good prerequisites for creating, within the UN framework and with the Security Council's leading role, an integral crisis-settlement system by ensuring a flexible combination of measures of the universal and regional nature are being shaped even now.

"On the agenda of the day is also work to rejuvenate the UN and adapt its activity to new realities of international life. The UN needs to rethink a good deal and

establish new order in its house. It is important the entire potential of the UN Charter, which was left unexploited during the bloc confrontation, be put to use."

Pankin emphasised the important role the republican foreign ministers' council is meant to play. "The council is a legislative body whereas the Foreign Ministry collegium can be likened to an executive body. This council will enable us to elevate discussions on the distribution and re-distribution of competence to a new level."

Asked about the content of the coming meetings with George Bush and James Baker, Pankin said: "We need to develop the dynamics that was achieved in several issues during Baker's recent visit to the Soviet Union. Specifically, from our point of view, the moment is coming when the United States should make a decision as regards its contribution to the provision of massive aid to the Soviet Union. We also plan to examine in detail the issue of movement towards the convocation of a Middle East conference," Pankin said.

Russian Delegation Discusses UN Membership

LD2009091791 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations Organisation September 20 TASS—"The Soviet Union will continue to be a member of the United Nations organisation and will retain its permanent seat on the Security Council," Valeriy Burkov, personal representative of the Russian president, said at a press conference here on Thursday. He is leading a Russian delegation to the UN conference devoted to the announcement of voluntary contributions to the needs of international cooperation in overcoming the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, which is scheduled for September 20.

"So far as Russia is concerned, I believe it has a moral right to be a UN member, the same as the Ukraine and Belorussia. Taking into account the current situation in the Soviet Union, however, I think it is premature to raise the problem of Russia's joining the UN. Russia's policy is aimed at preserving the union. This problem could be raised only after consultations with other republics. If all republics wish to join the UN, then it is probably the UN itself which will have to decide whether or not it is ready to admit all republics," Burkov said.

Touching upon the future of the union, he said "Russia's policy is aimed at preserving it, and all actions taken by Boris Yeltsin proceed from this assumption.... I think the union will be preserved, a renovated union, a union of sovereign states. Each of the republics will hold a worthy place in it and will enjoy corresponding rights. The centre will continue to exist too, but its rights will be restricted in comparison with those it enjoys now. According to the latest information, the republics are determined to sign the treaty. This will happen between October and December of this year," Burkov said.

Responding to the question about the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Semyon Voloshchuk, head of the Russian committee for the elimination of consequences of the Chernobyl accident, attending the press conference, said: "Independent international experts helped us assess the situation objectively from the point of view of radiological consequences of the Chernobyl accident. The document they prepared reflects most objectively the situation with the solution of this problem. So far as the risk of the outbreak of oncological diseases is concerned, this problem is to be faced in the near future. Now it is beginning to emerge. Social and psychological consequences of the accident also pose a serious problem. In my opinion, however, the world has had no experience in tackling such a problem before either in the Soviet Union, or in other countries."

Burkov said all three affected republics—Belorussia, Russia and the Ukraine—will hold a common stand at the UN conference. Joint programmes have been worked out, and their cost is known. "This is why our aim is to enlist the support of donor countries in order to achieve the implementation of these programmes."

Gorbachev Tells Socialist Delegation CPSU Goals

PM1909153591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Farewell to the Model, Not the Idea"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev had talks in the Kremlin 17 September with a Socialist International delegation comprising P. Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party and vice president of the Socialist International; B. Enholm, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, and others.

Welcoming the guests, the USSR president said that the process of the regrouping of political forces is under way in our country. Following the August events the CPSU found itself in a very serious position. Its leading organs had not only failed to oppose the plotters, but some of the leadership had directly supported them. Under these conditions, M.S. Gorbachev continued, I had no option but to resign as general secretary of the Central Committee and to propose that the Central Committee disband and allow Communists to make up their own minds. This process is under way. The Democratic Party of Communists of Russia is gathering strength. At the same time, other new political forces and organizations such as the Movement for Democratic Reforms, and the Democratic Party of Russia are also growing.

Our retreat from old, discredited models of society which have left the country in a dead end does not mean, M.S. Gorbachev said, that we have given up on the socialist idea. As president I do not consider it possible to hide this conviction of mine. But, at the same time, I am understanding about the existence of other ideas and the adherence to them shown by some sections of society.

'Resolute Steps' in Trade Liberalization Foreseen

LD1909151991 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS Observer Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Soviet leadership is ready for the most resolute steps aimed at the liberalisation of the country's foreign trade. There are grounds to believe that all restrictions hampering the development of business relations of the Soviet Union with foreign countries will soon be lifted.

For the first time after a long break Moscow intends to revive clearing and barter. This was announced at a closed session of the Economic Management Committee by Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the committee and, at the same time, president of the Soviet Research and Industrial Union.

Volskiy's plan approved by the committee envisages giving a new start to practically dead trade with former CEMA member states by means of direct trade turnover.

During the signing of the agreement between the research and industrial union and the Federal Union of German Industry (BDI), Volskiy discussed with BDI President Heinrich Weiss the problem of cooperation between enterprises of the republics which are about to join the economic union, and firms from the eastern lands of Germany (former GDR), he told journalists. Explaining special interest in this aspect of cooperation, Volskiy cited the following example: Many enterprises in eastern Germany come to a standstill, because they cannot sell their products. At the same time, many machine-building, automobile-making and chemical plants in the Soviet Union cannot work normally because of a shortage of spare parts for the equipment delivered previously from the GDR. The situation is the same regarding bilateral relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Volskiy thinks it is possible to return to clearing and barter in trade with industrially developed countries too. He cited as an example the situation with Soviet-Finnish foreign economic relations, which perceptibly deteriorated recently. He believes these forms of business cooperation will become popular again under the aegis of the Interrepublican Economic Committee, which will be the successor of the federal government.

In the opinion of Volskiy, the new structure will represent effectively and reliably the Soviet enterprises, which need support and orientation on the world market.

More on Changes in Soviet Diplomatic Service

PM1909123191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "Abrupt Turns in Fate of USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, has addressed a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. He spoke about a session of the new makeup of the ministry collegium.

He said that the collegium includes deputy ministers and leaders of the most important administrations—competent people who think in a modern way and who have stood the tests of the crisis. The collegium supported the opinion of the Council of Union and Republic Foreign Ministers on the expediency of inviting the country's prominent public figures and politicians to join it. They include the poet Olzhas Suleymenov, known for his statements in favor of banning nuclear tests and closing down the test site at Semipalatinsk; Academician Aleksey Yablokov, one of the leaders of the ecology movement; Andrey Sebentsov, leader of the law protection movement in the country's Supreme Soviet; and Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Committee for International and Foreign Economic Ties.

V. Churkin went on to report that the collegium session adopted a decision to draw up a draft document on the distribution of competences between the Union and republic foreign ministries.

The collegium session examined questions of the activities of Soviet establishments abroad. A decision was adopted to renew and reorganize diplomatic and consular establishments as quickly as possible with due regard for all-Union and republic interests. An ambassador's mission abroad will not now last for more than four or five years. And appointments of ambassadors must be approved by the Council of USSR and Republic Foreign Ministers.

A decision was also adopted to examine critically those political appointments that occurred in the Foreign Ministry during 1990. The Main Personnel and Educational Institutions Administration has been entrusted with preparing a list of experienced diplomatic staffers of the Foreign Ministry's central apparatus, ambassadors, minister counselors, and consuls general for assignment to the foreign ministries of the sovereign states which will make up the Union. A fundamental reorganization of the Main Personnel Administration is planned.

Correspondents inquired about the fate of eight Soviet ambassadors recalled to Moscow for consultations. In particular, will Leonid Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Britain, and Gennadiy Gerasimov, USSR ambassador to Portugal, return to the execution of their official duties?

"The ministry leadership has not yet made specific decisions on all the ambassadors," V. Churkin emphasized. "As regards our ambassador to Portugal, he is not one of those who have been summoned to Moscow for consultations."

United States & Canada

Secretary Brady Continues Consultations in Moscow

Meets Silayev, Agrees on Food Credits

LD1909124991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] During their talks on 18 September, Silayev, chairman of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, and U.S. Treasury Secretary Brady agreed on a timeframe for the use of a U.S. credit of $900 million, intended for food purchases by the Soviet Union. According to Silayev, the parties agreed that $500 million of the loan will commence in October 1991, and the other $400 million in March 1992. The Americans also agreed to the USSR using $375 million of the $500 million as early as September this year.

Talks With Yavlinskiy, Chernyayev

OW1909153891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has met today, September 19, with the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady visiting Moscow. Our DP correspondent has been told by the President's press secretary Vladimir Tumarkin that the talk was attended on the Soviet side by the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Emergency Economic Committee Georgiy Yavlinskiy, President of the USSR State Bank Vladimir Gerashchenko, and Gorbachev's aide Anatoliy Chernyayev.

Problems vere discussed concerning effective bilateral cooperation, and delegating responsibility for it to organisations and persons.

Talking with N. Brady M. Gorbachev intimated that the recent abortive putsch had removed obstacles to radical economic reforms in the Soviet Union and opened a chance for establishing new international economic relations. The situation faces politicians and businessmen vith a need for unusual large-scale decisions. M. Gorbachev called on the world community to help "the great country to join the main economic partners on the world stage for its own and the world's good."

The U.S. Secretary of the Treasury urged an early agreement on granting the USSR an associated member's status in the International Monetary Fund. He has an opinion that the sovereign republics should have a single representation in the IMF with the respective powers.

Gorbachev Relates Post-Coup Reforms

OW1909140491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met in Moscow on Thursday with the visiting US Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady. According to the presidential press spokesman Vladimir Tumarkin, the parties discussed ways of establishing efficient bilateral cooperation.

Mr. Gorbachev said the coup's failure had lifted the major restrictions on sweeping economic reforms in the USSR and paved the way for a new kind of international economic relations. The present situation, he went on to say, demanded resolution on the part of politicians and entrepreneurs to take "bold and innovative decisions." It was essential that the international community help "this great country to enter the group of the world's leading economic powers for its own good and the good of the whole world," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Mr. Brady said it was highly desirable that the International Monetary Fund grant the Soviet Union the status of its associated members as soon as possible. He expressed the view that the sovereign republics united within the USSR should be represented at the IMF by a single body imbued with appropriate powers.

Gorbachev Describes Economic Union

LD1909165691 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors Alan Greenspan and Treasury Under-Secretary for International Issues David Mulford.

The meeting was held in accordance with an agreement between Presidents Gorbachev and Bush and in the context of the process launched by the G-7 in London.

The sides expressed understanding of the role of a new union in world relations and the United States' role in forming a new type of international cooperation, from which the Soviet Union awaits assistance in overcoming difficulties and moving towards realising the country's colossal potential.

The sides also discussed specific economic issues, including rules ensuring the efficiency of cooperation and aid, conditions and specific bodies and persons directly involved in cooperation and aid.

Brady particularly noted that the rapid signing of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund on special associated membership for the Soviet Union is expedient. For this, the Soviet Union should have a

common body coordinated with republics, having powers and capable of running transactions.

The sides discussed specific demands, with respect to which special attention and assistance is needed on the part of our foreign partners.

Gorbachev noted that after the failed coup, great opportunities have appeared for establishing a new type of international economic relations, as many obstacles on the road of reforms in the country have been lifted. But the country faces problems and difficulties.

The world has made a radical turn in its development. And relations with the United States cannot be considered a simple normal process, he said.

Readiness is needed from politicians and specialists in the economic sphere to take really unusual decisions, adequate to the historic task of helping the great country join the world's main economic forces for the benefit of the country itself and the whole world, Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev spoke about important practical decisions passed in recent days on reforming the Union and especially on preparing a treaty of the economic union, which is to be signed in the near future.

Says Gorbachev Talks 'Very Successful'

LD1909111491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Viktor Bezbrezhnyy and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady described his meeting in the Kremlin with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev as "very successful".

The treasury secretary said the USSR president expressed a firm resolution to pursue the path of democratic transformations in the country and to reorganize the economy on market principles. "We had a useful discussion on all questions connected with this subject," Nicholas Brady stressed. "I was satisfied," he pointed out, "that Mikhail Gorbachev demonstrated complete confidence regarding the future role of the Soviet Union."

The U.S. treasury secretary confirmed his government's intention to continue to give aid to the USSR, in particular deliveries of food and medicines.

Brady Briefed on State of Economy

LD1909204891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 91

[from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] USSR President Gorbachev received U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady today. This is the third such visit in recent times. Earlier, Brady's British and French colleagues had already been to the Kremlin. He is familiarizing himself with the state of affairs in our economy and discussing prospects for expanding business relations, including with the republics.

Brady has extensive contacts in banking circles on Wall Street. In addition, he is a friend of George Bush.

I will remind you that all these visits are proceeding in conformity with the accord at the Gorbachev meeting with the G-7 leaders in London. Gorbachev, Nicholas Brady told journalists, demonstrated complete confidence at the meeting regarding the future role of the Union. Brady confirmed the readiness of the United States to provide humanitarian aid to the USSR, including foodstuffs and medicines, in addition to the credit for $1.5 billion already allocated for the purchase of grain. And taking into account the probability of the intensification of difficulties with the onset of winter, other urgent support is also possible. The U.S. secretary of the Treasury stated that he has been assured in Moscow that aid will reach precisely those people who have most need of it. It is not out of the question that, having amassed enormous experience in such work throughout the world, the International Red Cross will be involved in this. [video shows Brady sitting across table opposite, from left to right of screen: interpreter, Gorbachev, Yavlinskiy, and Silayev]

Views Banking System With Geraschenko

OW1909200691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady gave to understand during his meeting with the President of the USSR State Bank Victor Gerashchenko, September 19, that the United States is interested in keeping a single banking system in the Soviet Union. The INTERFAX correspondent was informed that N. Brady had spoken out for preserving the centrallized control over Soviet finance "at least for a certain transitional period".

The U.S. secretary of the Treasury discussed with V. Gerashchenko the state of the Soviet Union's payments balance and its requirement of liquid currency expected to be obtained from the West by the end of this year. V. Gerashchenko expressed surprise at the position of the American commercial bank which broke the credit agreement with the USSR VNESHECONOMBANK during and after the August putsch. V. Gerashechenko described the banks' actions as a "disgrace" for the entire Western banking system.

The USSR State Bank said that N. Brady's visit and more than an hour's talk with V. Geraschenko "unequivocally" signalled whether or not the U.S. Treasury saw the USSR State Bank as its chief financial partner in the Soviet Union. The State Bank's spokesman added that

the American financial institution also intend "to cooperate more actively with the republics".

U.S. Seen To 'Pressure' Soviet Republics

PM1809114191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Vladimir Gerasimov commentary: "So What's Going on in Russia?"]

[Text] "So, can it pick anything up?"

"It's excellent, Sir. Gorbachev and the new authorities are getting a good dressing down. The receivers are crackling—they are cursing because there is not enough vodka. And as for the buffet food... Block your ears."

"But we sent them salmon from Alaska."

"They are shouting: 'Not Enough!'"

...Is it not true to say that this kind of opening is reminiscent of an ancient satire on the machinations of Uncle Sam? Only once again a reason has emerged... for eavesdropping. International economic relations continue to be defined by COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists, and it is on that basis that the Soviet Union was refused optic cables. It seems that it is far more difficult for the U.S. National Security Agency to listen into telephone conversations on those cables than on the regular equipment in current use. And they do have to eavesdrop, to find out what the Russians are up to and what is driving them on.

Maybe they are seeking ultimately to define how the West is to support our new "community," and what the confusion and dissent on "one-sixth of the world's surface" will entail. Is this not the reason for the contradictory reactions by the United States and the G-7 in general to events in the former Union?

The word "perestroyka" has almost completely disappeared from the Western press. Other concepts are in wide and active use with regard to us: "decline," "disintegration," "ruins," "anarchy," "crash," "chaos," "collapse." The situation in our country—once referred to as superpower—is portrayed for the world very "graphically" by the Western press: On geographical maps it is represented as a multicolored, patchwork quilt which stretches across Eurasia, something akin to a conglomerate of new independent states. Which way will the blanket be pulled? And which force will do the pulling?

Only recently in London, the G-7 forwarded terms defining M. Gorbachev's activities, linking them to the provision of economic aid for the Union. The processes of decentralization, self-determination, and declarations of independence by former Union republics are gathering speed at such a rapid rate that the world now looks on astounded and dumbfounded: Where will it all end? In which direction will the pieces from the "indestructible Union" be scattered...? How will this affect Europe and the world?

THE NEW YORK TIMES raised the following questions: "What will be the U.S. obligations as the sole superpower in a world which is used to housing two superpowers? Against whom is the United States arming itself now in the military and ideological respect?"

Indeed, against whom? And is there really any need in these conditions to keep COCOM lists and cut us off from state-of-the-art technology? In other words, to maintain our backwardness? How can NATO's existence continue to be justified? And what does the United States envisage for the future (in both strategic and tactical relations) when Europe is witnessing the removal of the Soviet "counterbalance" to a united Germany, and the dial on the world political and economic scales is tilting toward Asia and Japan? And at which end of the scale will the United States "stand"?

Meanwhile, the Western press has begun insistently drumming the following idea into people's minds: There is only one superpower now—the United States. It will lead the way. Here, already, we sense a desire on the part of U.S. politicians to "pressure" the new conglomerate of former Soviet republics. Could it be that former Soviet zones of interest will become U.S. zones of interest? In the same way as East Europe is turning into a NATO reserve. It was not long before the Western world felt a perceptible drop in the tone of the former Soviet superpower's foreign policy after the Persian crisis. M. Gorbachev's rational compromises and concessions were turned "inside out": If they are retreating, it means they are weak, that they concede defeat in the Cold War, and that they can no longer maintain the military industry or space research.

France's LE FIGARO states directly: "We will finance what is necessary... The question will be phrased in this way: 'either—or.' However, truth be known, the USSR will have no choice."

This "either—or" entails one more demand from our Western partners: In exchange for aid, military expenditures must be reduced significantly. I will quote further: "If the Soviet Union appeals to the West with a request for aid while striving at the same time to maintain its position as a mighty military power, then no aid will be given." This is the direct statement written a few days ago in the Japanese NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN. We are witnessing a despicable use of pressure from a position of strength. In response to B. Yeltsin's appeal to President Bush and the leaders of other nuclear powers for a universal ban on nuclear testing, the United States—fully aware of its "superpower status"—put a damper on the whole idea: "If we possess nuclear weapons, then it follows that we must have the chance to test them." This is stated by official Pentagon representatives.

Nowadays, passions over Soviet nuclear weapons have abated. The republics have disowned them, and it is left to the Russians to worry about how best to be rid of them. The West is reassured by the fact that there will

only be one master. But there is still concern about a possible influx of refugees to the West. Nationalist conflicts continue to cause alarm. There are proposals to immediately set up an international "fire brigade" against these "minor wars."

A few days ago, we all learned that KGB bugging is to cease. This is enshrined in the human rights declaration. Certain telephones in Moscow fell silent: The rumor spread that specialized devices were being removed and that an overhaul of the communications services was under way. For now, we say nothing about the fact that our uncle in the striped hat is still listening in on us. Rights are all very well, but he considers it more important to know what those Russians are saying over the telephone.

Near East & South Asia

U.S.-Soviet Accord Breakthrough in Afghan War

LD2009110291 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—A spokesman for the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry made the following statement to TASS, taking into account special sensitivity of the problem of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan in the light of the Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan, adopted several days ago:

It is recognised by the world public and the leadership of most countries that the Soviet-American accords on Afghanistan are a serious breakthrough on the way to settling the Afghan conflict. They create an entirely new situation which makes it possible to achieve a real political settlement.

The termination of Soviet and American arms deliveries to the warring sides in Afghanistan paves the way to the transition from the exhausting war in Afghanistan that has lasted for many years, to a process of peaceful settlement of problems facing the country. It is obvious that if the Afghan war is not fuelled from the outside, this will be a serious signal to the Afghan people urging them to put an end to fratricide and to begin an intra-Afghan dialogue for the purpose of deciding the future of their country.

The fate of Soviet soldiers reported missing or taken prisoner in Afghanistan is a source of profound concern for us, and we regard the search for them and their release as our civic duty. This problem has been reflected in the Soviet-American accord. The Soviet Foreign Ministry proceeds from the assumption that the problem should be settled before the beginning of 1992. The American side expressed hope that this would be done and agreed to exert maximum effort to help us.

It is planned to hold talks in Moscow soon with a delegation of the Afghan opposition, at which we intend to raise the problem of Soviet prisoners of war as a priority, and to insist firmly on its solution.

Afghans Invited to Moscow

AU1909101491 Paris AFP in English 0934 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has invited leaders of the Afghan resistance to come to Moscow for talks concerning Soviet prisoners of war and "the general Afghan situation," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said Thursday. "It appears they will accept the invitation," the spokesman said, adding that a date for the visit had not yet been fixed.

A Soviet Embassy spokesman in Islamabad said earlier that the visit would take place in a month.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said Moscow wanted to discuss the whereabouts of a total of 308 Soviet troops listed as missing in action (MIA) since the start of the Afghan War.

He said that based on reports from Afghan resistance and government sources, the Soviet Government believed that between 80 and 100 of the MIAs were alive and were being held by various resistance factions. "Those remaining are not believed to be alive," the spokesman said, adding that the talks in Moscow "will reveal more details".

The spokesman said that only eight Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had been repatriated since Soviet forces completed their pullout from Afghanistan in February 1989.

He said the remaining POWs were "scattered" among various resistance groups, making it difficult to obtain reliable information on their whereabouts.

In Islamabad, Soviet Embassy spokesman Vladimir Ivanov said the Soviet Union had extended an invitation to Sebghatullah Mojadeddi, president of the Pakistan-based mujahidin Afghan Interim Government, and that he had accepted.

Ivanov said that it would be left to the resistance to decide who would be in the delegation.

'Major Step' Toward Peace

LD1909174791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Yuriy Solton analyzes the prospects for a peace solution of the Afghan question:

After the signing of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan in 1988, and the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from that country, the joint decision of Moscow and Washington to stop military deliveries to the warring sides as of next January 1 seems to be a major step on the way to peace in Afghanistan. [passage omitted: on background].

True, no matter what influence Moscow has on the Kabul government, and Washington on the opposing groupings, much depends on the Afghan side in the long run. The halting of Soviet and American military deliveries may cool down the bellicose spirit of the warring sides, but will that lead to their reconciliation? [Passage omitted: noting Najibollah's readiness to accept peace settlement process and the opposition's rejection of the truce proposed by him].

Fighting continues in various parts of Afghanistan. So what does the opposition lay its hopes on? It's pretty early to write off the Kabul government as a thing of the past. I recall how the opponents of that government tried to predict its downfall after the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan. But they miscalculated at that time.

It would be a mistake to think that the halting of Soviet military deliveries to Kabul will put it in a disadvantageous position as regards the Mojahedin, who receive weapons not only from the United States. In case Kabul needs weapons, it may get them on free weaponry markets. But to go ahead with the war means to go down the road of destruction. It promises victory to neither of the sides.

Though it's the business of the Afghans themselves to decide the future of their country, in case the bloodshed continues I don't think the international community will agree to hold the position of an onlooker. The efforts used by it [the international community] to deal with the Gulf crisis are a case in point, concludes Yuriy Solton.

'Friendly' Message From King Fahd to Gorbachev

LD1909200391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—It was officially reported here today that on 19 September, the personal representative of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, handed to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev a message from the king in response to one recently conveyed to the Saudi monarch by Yevgeniy Primakov, the representative of the President of the USSR, on behalf of the USSR president.

The exchange of messages confirmed both sides' high opinion of the new level of cooperation and interaction between the USSR and Saudi Arabia. Mikhail Gorbachev noted that our relations now have an independent value, have passed the test of time and events, and have acquired the important element of trust, including trust between the leaders of the two states.

In a difficult hour, says the letter from King Fahd, the people have expressed support for the president of the USSR and his efforts in the interests of Soviet people and of peace and security throughout the world. During the three days of the coup, the king's personal representative told Mikhail Gorbachev, we felt sincere concern and were anxious for you. But the changes that have taken place in the USSR in the last six years doomed the coup to failure. And what has happened during those years on the international scene has made the world safer, especially for small countries such as Saudi Arabia. In this connection, the both sides expressed appreciation of the international cooperation which put an end to the aggression against Kuwait.

The USSR president asked that his gratitude for the friendly message be conveyed to the king of Saudi Arabia—one of the leaders who at once took a firm and resolute stand in condemning the coup. He welcomed the willingness, expressed by the Saudi representative on behalf of the Saudi king, to develop relations with the USSR within the new framework of a single renewed union, the Central Asian republics, and others. We also value the desire of the Saudi leadership to give the peoples of our country concrete support in the difficult period of transition to the new Union and market economy.

Near East affairs and the Afghan problem were also discussed, revealing a broad similarity of approaches based on the wish to overcome as quickly as possible the consequences of the destructive wars and conflicts in those regions, and to begin constructive creative work for the benefit of their peoples. Thanks to the efforts of the USSR, the United States and other countries, and also of the United Nations, good possibilities for this are now opening up.

Belonogov Thanks Tunisia for Loyalty During Coup

LD1909141291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0725 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunis, 19 Sep (TASS)—Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahya had a meeting on Wednesday evening [18 September] with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov, who is here on a visit. The development of bilateral relations and the two countries' efforts toward convening a world conference on the Near East were discussed at the meeting. There was agreement on all questions discussed. A. Belonogov expressed optimism regarding a Near East settlement. "Even if there are certain obstacles on the road to convening an international conference on the Near East, we must overcome them in order to guarantee the success of such a meeting," the Soviet representative stated. He expressed gratitude to Tunisia for supporting the legitimate Soviet leadership during the attempted putsch. The position of Tunisia and the Arab world was correct regarding the events which have occurred in the Soviet Union, the deputy minister noted.

A.M. Belonogov is in Tunisia to hold consultations with the leadership of that country and the PLO. On Wednesday he was received by Y. 'Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

Defense Minister Receives Indian Ambassador

LD2009030791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1548 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Nikitin]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, aviation marshal and USSR minister of defense, received today A.S. Gonsalves, ambassador of India to the USSR, on the latter's request. Issues connected with the further development of Soviet-Indian relations, including those in the military sphere, were discussed during the conversation that took place. The conversation was conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

West Europe

Pankin Answers Newsmens' Questions in Stockholm

LD1909194991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1748 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm, 19 Sep (TASS)—It has already been reported that USSR Foreign Minister B.D. Pankin has spoken at a press conference held in Stockholm. He gave answers to numerous questions put to him by journalists.

A question was put forward on Swedish aid to the Soviet Union. This question was raised, pointed out the minister, and I hope to continue to discuss it. It arose at the meeting held between President Gorbachev and the Scandinavian foreign ministers. We are hoping to receive such aid and assistance. We know that many Swedish companies which have enjoyed good cooperation with us "Tetra Pak", "Alfa-Laval", and (A.Junson and Co.)", are ready to get involved in such work on a humanitarian basis—which they are already undertaking,—as well as on a mutually beneficial basis. The issue of state guarantees, credits and investments stands out acutely here. If the Swedish government goes for this, it would, of course, be a very important step taken by the Swedish leadership, especially in the sphere of food: its supply, storage and distribution. We would be very glad if Sweden were to take upon itself the role of coordinator of these activities within the framework of the region, in the same way it has already been doing in other spheres.

What does the new situation in the USSR mean for cooperation with this northern region, for its attitude to the plans of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe; and will the Baltic republics become nuclear-free zones? The minister had this to say to this series of questions: M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR, underlined our readiness to develop cooperation in all directions. Now, when the braking mechanisms have been removed after the failure of the coup, this cooperation may develop in all areas. We have confirmed this during today's meetings. President Gorbachev also confirmed this at the conference on the human dimension held in Moscow, during the meetings with the foreign affairs ministers of the five North European countries, also later on during a meeting which took place between him and B.N. Yeltsin, president of Russia.

As far as the Baltic republics are concerned, these are independent states that we intend to set up diplomatic relations with in the very near future, and also to hold negotiations on a range of very serious issues. While adopting the decision on the recognition of their independence, we spoke in favor of these republics becoming members of the United Nations and joining the CSCE process—something which is already taking place—and stating their determination to join the treaty on nuclear non- proliferation. I think that is how it will be. Our ambition is still the same, namely, to declare and to set up with you a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. We will be doing everything necessary.

At the request of journalists, concerning his attitude toward the debate in Finland on the question of possible reconsideration of the 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid, B.D. Pankin said: while holding this post, my ambition is to rid our foreign policy of the remaining ideological and clearly obsolete approaches. That is how I understand my tasks, and the leadership of the country is supporting me on this. We are open to the idea of carefully reexamining any problems that arise—but not to the idea of pointless reconsideration of everything that happened in the past.

I think that in this respect, if this question were to be actively raised, we will be able to jointly go back to the Soviet- Finnish treaty with a view to considering and confirming everything that is viable today, everything that has proved to be a powerful lever in the creation of all the solid, reliable, friendly relations existing between us. In turn we will also be able—if required, as I can make no predictions now—to remove that which has already become dated and that which is no longer necessary.

In connection with the situation that has arisen in a number of Soviet embassies abroad at the beginning of the coup and during its development, B.D. Pankin pointed out: A number of ambassadors were recalled for consultations, so that their behavior at that time could be discussed. As a result of these discussions, we suggested that they themselves take a decision as to the possibility of their further work, taking into consideration the sensitivity of this post and the sensitive reaction, both in the countries where they work, and in our country. Effectively, all of them asked for a permission to go back to their countries to say goodbye, and to return to Moscow.

Answering a question on whether the KGB personnel in Soviet embassies abroad, including that in Stockholm, will be reduced, the minister pointed out: Vadim Bakatin, the new head of the Committee for State Security, has already been in touch with me on the issue as a whole: KGB intelligence activity abroad. The activity itself is generally recognized, and intelligence agencies

exist all over the world. Nobody tries to conceal this from one another. However, it is another matter how it is being conducted, with what purposes, and on what scale.

I can say that a firm intention has formed in the KGB—and perhaps, now, after our discussion it is already being implemented with definite decisions—to sharply reduce its presence abroad, and to put it down to the minimum, determined by security requirements. Probably, the service itself will be reformed. It can exist separately, as in other countries. Naturally, this will concern all embassies and other units, diplomatic and others. This will naturally concern Sweden as well.

I can add, as I have already publicly announced, that the process of withdrawal of KGB personnel from the Foreign Ministry central apparatus has also started and is under way. It started with a sensitive directorate—the personnel directorate, where, since the day before yesterday, there are no more KGB personnel.

Concerning the issue of whether Soviet submarines have been intruding in Swedish internal waters after 1981, Pankin remarked: I have arranged with the Minister of Defense, the Chairman of the KGB, and the Internal Minister once again have a closer look at the materials and data on all the issues that have been a stumbling block for many years, and analyze them. We will tell you about everything we find. I do not expect any significant revelations, but I cannot say whether the former leadership of these departments, who turned out to be among the main conspirators, could be concealing something and keeping something from the country's leadership and, indeed, from ambassadors.

Now we are going to check it all out. You know that the work concerning Raul Wallenberg is going quite successfully. However, we will not be able to give you anything that we have not got. There is already clarification concerning the DC-3 aircraft. The same goes for this issue.

Views Baltics-N. Europe Cooperation

PM1909175791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent M. Zubko: "B. Pankin: The Foreign Ministry Will No Longer be a 'Shelter' for the KGB"]

[Text] Stockholm—B. Pankin, our new foreign minister, came under a hail of trenchant questions from journalists at a press conference in Stockholm that he answered calmly and, more importantly, frankly. He is paying a brief visit to Sweden en route to New York.

I am not going to dwell in detail on all of them: I shall merely mention that correspondents asked about the themes of cooperation in Northern Europe and the participation of the independent Baltic states, the development of ties between Swedish concerns and the Soviet Union, attitudes toward the Vatican, and so forth.

Then a "hot" question cropped up—are Soviet submarines violating Swedish territorial waters? B. Pankin replied:

We have agreed with the Defense Ministry, the KGB, the Interior Ministry, and the archives, that we shall attentively reexamine and analyze the materials on those cases which were a stumbling block in relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union for many years. I do not expect great revelations here, but I cannot exclude the possibility that people who were among the main participants in the putsch may have kept things back from the country's leadership and from ambassadors. We shall describe everything that we discover...

I shall add to Pankin's words that the stumbling block in Sweden's relations with our country was not only the actions of Soviet submarines but also the still unclear fate of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg and the eight crew members of the Swedish DC-3 reconnaissance aircraft shot down somewhere over the Baltic in 1952; as well as the question of the whereabouts of Swedish citizen Stig Bergling, the former Soviet spy who escaped from jail, presumably to the Soviet Union.

Another question: What is your comment on the reports that the number of KGB staffers in Soviet establishments in Sweden will be reduced?

The new KGB leadership headed by V. Bakatin, B. Pankin noted, has begun talks with me on the overall problem—the committee's intelligence activity abroad. This activity itself is generally acknowledged; it exists throughout the world. The question is the scale and the extent to which it meets the country's security needs. There is a firm intention in the KGB, the minister went on, to sharply reduce its presence abroad to a reasonable minimum. I have already said in public that the process of withdrawing KGB personnel from the Foreign Ministry central apparatus has already begun, notably at the sensitive level of cadre administration. There are no KGB officers there now...

Of course, Swedish journalists asked whether Soviet ambassador N. Uspenskiy, who spoke in the Swedish press in support of the participants in the coup d'etat in the USSR, will be returning to Stockholm (see IZVESTIYA nos. 202 and 203).

In view of the situation which developed at a number of Soviet embassies during the days of the putsch, the minister said, some ambassadors were recalled to Moscow for consultations and discussions. They included N. Uspenskiy. As a result of those discussions we have come to the conclusion that ambassadors should be instructed to express their own views, and decide whether it is possible for them to continue working in their host countries in the light of the reaction to their actions in those countries.

Virtually all the ambassadors have asked to be allowed to go to the countries where they were accredited—to take their leave and then return home. That is precisely what

N. Uspenskiy is now considering. I believe that that is is what he will decide to do, B. Pankin stressed.

On Wednesday, 18 September, the Soviet minister met with Carl Bildt, leader of the Moderate Coalition Party (conservative), who has been asked to form the new Swedish government following Sunday's parliamentary elections. During the conversation, according to the Swedish press, the sides discussed those same stumbling blocks that B. Pankin talked about. Namely, the questions of the submarines, Raoul Wallenberg, and the DC-3 crew.

Soviet Economic Delegation in London for Talks

LD2009100991 Moscow TASS in English
0837 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London September 20 TASS—In a TASS interview here on Thursday, [19 September] Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy chairman of the Soviet committee for day-to-day economic management and leader of a visiting Soviet delegation, described the delegation's talks with British officials as useful.

Although he did not speak of some specific results of the talks which are to continue on Friday, at the same time he made it clear that the current visit promises to be positive.

On the first day of the visit, the delegation had a very busy schedule. From the airport delegates went straight to meet British Prime Minister John Major.

"Originally it was planned for the meeting to last 45 minutes but it turned out to be so serious and important that it continued for more than an hour," Luzhkov said.

"We had a very good businesslike discussion. We came to see that the prime minister was interested in helping us resolve our problems. It must be pointed out that Britain as a country and Mr. Major personally have a unique position from the viewpoint of the solution of our problems.

"Firstly, Britain as a member of the European Community (EC) has a very strong voice in the Common Market. Secondly, Mr. Major currently chairs the Group of Seven (G-7). Of course, we would like to contact him as the leader who unites and coordinates G-7 policy in resolving economic problems, including cooperation with our country.

"We had a very useful and productive conversation. We asked the prime minister to consider our proposals on credits. Mr. Major firmly assured us he would do all he can to help the Soviet Union in this rather difficult period.

"During talks with the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Peter Lilley," Luzhkov said, "we explained our position on technical aid problems, the granting of credits, and brought up a whole number of issues which Mr. Lilley regarded with understanding."

"The delegation had a long and improtant meeting with the governor of the Bank of England, Robert Leigh Pemberton, discussing matters concerning the further functioning of and support for the Moscow Narodny Bank, the Soviet Union's oldest banking enterprise abroad.

"We agreed on joint efforts to support this really well established bank and discussed the state of financial relations between our two countries.

"On the whole, I can say people here are more than sympathetic to our delegation, trying to understand us and put themselves in our place," Luzhkov pointed out.

"Undoubtedly I think there will be benefit from this trip. During our meetings we do our best to inform the interlocutors of the actual state of affairs in the state structures of our country at the present moment.

"They do not quite understand a few things. A whole number of statements by our state and public figures are unclear to them, and mislead them.

"Our information to them proved very timely and to a large extent stabilised attitudes to our new state agencies, such as the Council of State and the inter-republican economic committee.

"We spoke of a single economic space and a common approach to the foreign debt and the debt service and met with exceptional understanding of and support for these aspects.

"We were told these principles are an important condition for the maintenance of contacts with us in the field of lending and economic cooperation," Luzhkov said.

Delegation to Brussels, Talks Focus on EC Aid

LD1909113191 Moscow TASS in English
1006 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels September 19 TASS—Current talks in the Belgian capital between a Soviet delegation, which arrived here, and senior executives of the European Commission focus on boosting aid which is extended by the European Community to the Soviet Union.

In a talk with Soviet journalists Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy chief of the Soviet Economic Management Committee who heads the delegation, summed up the results of the delegation's first meetings.

He said talks mostly concern food supplies. Three groups of issues are under discussion. The first applies to food aid already extended by the European Community. To this end, the EC has already set aside 250 million ECU's (European Currency Units), but only about 30 million ECU's worth of foodstuffs have been received to date.

Frictions emerged around the distribution system. "I categorically disagree with contentions that the responsibility for this delay rests with the Soviet side. We are prepared to accept any control on the part of the Commission and at any level," Luzhkov said.

"Another problem is related to the extension by the EC of guarantees that the Soviet Union will receive 500-million-ECU credits. This decision was made in December 1990, but the Community demanded that the agreement be signed not only by Vneshekonombak but also the Soviet Government," Luzhkov said.

"We come across this demand for the first time in our practice of relations with other states and international organisations. It means should a dispute arise, the government can be brought to court. We said officially this demand, which affects the country's honour and dignity, is unacceptable. Commission senior executives promised to consider this problem and find a compromise solution," Luzhkov said.

At the talks the sides are also discussing the USSR's request to supply five to six billion ECU worth of food in the next six months. "We hope for an understanding on the part of the EC, especially since under our proposals only one third of this sum is requested to be allotted in the form of gratis aid," Luzhkov observed.

"Two thirds of the sum is planned to be spent on purchasing food in EC member-countries themselves and the credit will eventually be paid back. This request is made as the result of the grave situation developing in our country because of the low harvest," Luzhkov said.

Agreement Signed with German Industry Association

'Joint Task' for Progress

LD1909175491 Berlin ADN in German 1804 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—The Federal Association of German Industry (BDI) and the USSR Research and Industry Association signed a general agreement on cooperation in Moscow today. The treaty was signed by the presidents of the two associations, Heinrich Weiss and Arkadiy Volskiy. Weiss told journalists afterwards that the agreement is to help ensure that German industry will maintain and expand the outstanding position it already has in trade with the Soviet Union. Germany wants to support the USSR with know-how in all questions concerning a social market economy, for example in cost accounting, finances, marketing, and sales. Weiss said the BDI could contribute its experiences in the new federal states with regard to privatization. [passage omitted]

Volskiy said it was a joint task to make progress. Tomorrow he will present to the BDI president 36 projects, including some in the food industry and gas and oil research, in which both states have an interest. [passage omitted]

Differences To Be Resolved

OW1909123791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [18 September] the President of the Soviet Science and Industry Union Arkadiy Volskiy and the President of the Federal Alliance of the German Industry Heinrich Weiss signed an agreement on cooperation. At a news conference after the ceremony Mr. Weiss said that under the agreement the German side will supply a package of technologies, help Soviet companies master the laws of a market economy and share experience in privatization in the former GDR.

He voiced the conviction of German industrialists that there will soon be tough competition in the Soviet market between foreign companies for profitable investment targets. "German companies want to be ahead of others," he said.

Volskiy said that Yavlinskiy's economic program approved by the State Council on Monday [16 September] will be finalized. According to a well- informed source, there are differences between the republics on virtually all aspects of economic interaction. The work to settle these differences will start on Monday [23 September] at a meeting of economic experts, evidently led by Yavlinskiy, and representatives of the republics.

Socialist International to Discuss Aid to USSR

PM1909163191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report: "New 'Guiding Star'"]

[Text] Madrid, 16 Sep—Socialists should step up the pressure on their countries' governments to provide economic aid for the Soviet Union. This was stated Sunday by Alfonso Guerra, deputy secretary general of the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers Party, before leaving for Moscow.

In Moscow he will join the Socialist International delegation which, in his words, has been instructed to draw up a report on the extent to which democratic forces in the Soviet Union have consolidated following the collapse of the attempted coup, on the stability of state institutions, and on the prospects for reviving the economy. This document will be submitted to the Socialist International's leaders, who will be meeting in Berlin in the very near future.

Following the collapse of communist regimes in the Soviet Union and the East European countries, Guerra stressed, socialism—which has always upheld the democratic path as the only way to transform society—has become the guiding star for left-wing forces around the world.

Cooperation Discussed With Italy's Andreotti

LD2009102991 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome, September 20 TASS—Questions of Soviet-Italian cooperation were discusses today at a meeting of Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and deputy head of Soviet Economic Management Committee Arkadiy Volskiy during his visit to Rome.

Volskiy said the future working visit of [the] Italian prime minister to Moscow is of great importance for the Soviet Union especially now that its economy is taking a nosedive. He briefed Giulio Andreotti on the post-coup political and economic situation in the country, on the new institutes of power and the main directions of stabilising the national economy.

Soviet cooperation with the Western world in general was also discussed, as was the question of urgent shipments of foodstuffs and medicines to the Soviet Union. Andreotti and Volskiy exchanged views on the prospects of Soviet integration into the world economic system.

Italian Defense Minister Leaves for St. Petersburg

PM2009084591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Tour of Country"]

[Text] On 18 September, Italian Defense Minister V. Rognoni, who is in the USSR on an official visit, left Moscow for a tour of the country.

At Sheremetyevo airport the guest was seen off by Aviation Marshal Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister; Colonel General V.M. Semenov, USSR deputy defense minister; F. Salleo, italian ambassador to the USSR, and other officials. V. Rognoni arrived in St Petersburg the same day.

Latin America & Caribbean

Deputy Foreign Minister Leaves for Cuba

LD1909171491 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Bulanev]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko has left for Cuba for consultations with the Cuban leadership.

During the consultations, the ranking Soviet diplomat told TASS, he expects to discuss some international issues and prospects for Soviet-Cuban relations in light of the Soviet leadership's latest statements.

President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR said a few days ago that the Soviet Union intends to begin negotiations with the Cuban leadership on the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Soviet troops for Cuba. This step is aimed at promoting further measures to reduce tension around Cuba.

The USSR is now pursuing the policy of gradual reduction of military supplies to Cuba and shifting cooperation in this sphere onto a commercial basis. But on the whole, cooperation between Cuba and the Soviet Union will continue on normal, mutually beneficial terms.

Last week, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin spoke about confidence-building measures concerning Cuba and stressed that the Soviet Union is counting on reciprocal moves on the part of the United States.

According to Pankin, these moves during the initial stage should reduce the number of American troops at the Guantanamo base and the number of calls by U.S. Navy ships at the base, and make routine preliminary notification about military exercises.

Commentary Notes U.S. Reluctance To Leave Cuba

LD1709172891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] As thousands of Soviet servicemen are preparing to leave Cuba in the next few months, Washington is not going to reduce the personnel of its naval base in Guantanamo Bay. Vladislav Kozyakov of our staff comments. This is what he writes.

Although the U.S. base in Guantanamo was built as far back as the turn of the century, in recent decades it became one of the attributes of the cold war. Together with the Soviet troops in Cuba, the base served as a sort of line of Soviet-American military confrontation and was a potential source of international tensions. It is therefore natural that the news from Moscow about an early return home of the personnel of a training brigade and military advisers, in all more than 7,000 people, had favorable response not only in America but elsewhere. The initiative provides one more chance to further demilitarize international relations, this time in the Caribbean basin. The American side could support the initiative not only by verbal approval but quite concrete deeds, such, for example, as closing the Guantanamo base or by withdrawing the Marine training brigade from the base by bringing down the scale of naval exercises in the Caribbean Sea or, better still, halting them altogether, or, say, by restricting visits to Guantanamo by American warships. Whatever the case, as Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin points out, we can now speak about reciprocal steps on the part of the American Administration to create a normalized situation.

At the coming talks with Havana, Moscow intends to raise the issue of maintaining economic relations beneficial to both States. The present Soviet shipments to Cuba include fuel, manufactured goods, and many other items; and Cuban shipments to the Soviet Union include sugar, citrus fruit, nickel, and a number of other items. Since both countries are mutually interested in such contacts they will certainly maintain them. What is new about Soviet-Cuban relations is that from now on they will be based on a mutual economic advantage rather than on military or ideological dogmas. In fact, such an approach should prevail in relations between all States and not only between the Soviet Union and its republics and other countries.

In America, however, many people would prefer to regard relations with Cuba from the ideological and military angle. This is probably why the Pentagon still refuses even to consider any reciprocal steps with regard to its presence in the region. And judging by everything, it is ideological and military considerations that underly the economic blockade of Cuba the United States has maintained for more than three decades. But if the world community, and the Soviet Union and the United States as part of it, is working to create a new world order, this would require a revision of cold war principles. There must be no room left for a policy of strength, military pressure, or an economic blockade against any country. Splitting international relations from ideology and militarization are universal principles equally true for the Caribbean basin just as any other region.

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Chilean Envoy

LD1909050591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Valeriy Nikolayenko, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, has received Senator Maximo Pacheco Gomez, personal representative of Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, who is currently in Moscow. An exchange of opinions on current international problems and issues of the further development of bilateral ties has taken place.

Political & Social

Bakatin Abolishes KGB Internal Directorate

PM1809100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, INTERFAX, RIA roundup]

[Text] USSR KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin has issued an order for the abolition of Section 4 of the Directorate for the Defense of USSR Constitutional Order—Directorate "3."

The KGB Public Relations Center told our correspondent: "The activity of this subdivision violated constitutional norms on the separation of church and state, contravened USSR legislation on freedom of conscience and religious organizations, and contradicted the political course of the supreme organs of state power in the USSR, which aim to democratize society and strengthen human rights guarantees."

Bakatin also signed a document authorizing Russia to assume command over its autonomous republic KGB's and all kray and oblast KGB Directorates. The transfer of structures and personnel is being conducted simultaneously with the premises they occupy and all communication means, computer equipment, transportation, and other equipment in their possession.

Deputy KGB Chairman Shebarshin Resigns

LD2009105891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Leonid Shebarshin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB] and head of the first main directorate, has resigned. A TASS correspondent learned about this from trustworthy sources. Fifty-six year old Leonid Shebarshin has successfully headed the Soviet foreign intelligence service for many years now. On 22-23 August this year, he was temporarily acting chairman of the USSR KGB. For the moment, the reasons for this professional handing in his resignation are not being reported.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 20 September carries a similar report, citing an unnamed press report, on Lieutenant General Shebarshin's resignation. The Radio Rossii report states that "the reason for this decision is Shebarshin's protest at the practice of appointing high intelligence offices due to patronage. It has been suggested that Shebarshin's statement is linked to the recent appointment of his first deputy."]

Chief KGB Analyst Lauds U.S. Security Model

PM1909144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by S. Leskov on interview with V. Rubanov, chief of the USSR KGB Analytical Directorate and formerly assistant to V. Bakatin in his post as Minister of Internal Affairs; date of interview not given: "Where Does the Threat to the USSR Emanate From? Despite All Their Might, the Army and the KGB Are Not Capable of Ensuring Society's Security"]

[Text] A year ago representatives of the most "unconnected" fields—the military, law enforcement organs personnel, scientists, and spiritual leaders—met regularly at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, and Culture. What did these people have in common? They were elaborating a concept to ensure the USSR's national security under the leadership of Academician Yu. Ryzhov. It was obvious even then that the need for this work was being underestimated by the majority of our leaders. In public consciousness national security has been associated only with the KGB's sphere of competence. Meanwhile, in the civilized world the concept of national security forms the basis of state policy, incorporating economic, scientific, technical, spiritual, and demographic issues, that is to say all aspects of societal life. On coming to to power, heads of state and political parties view their national security strategy as an issue of prime importance. However, a year ago we were not yet this wise. And perhaps it was not even a question of wisdom...

V. Kryuchkov, the former chairman of the USSR KGB declared during the discussion of the draft law on KGB organs in the Supreme Soviet that discussing a new security concept for the country was nothing but a waste of time. The group's further work was suspended on the instructions of A. Lukyanov, the former chairman of the Union parliament. When Anatoliy Ivanovich was handed a list of the specialists who had worked on the concept with the request to officially establish this group, he muttered: "So finally we have the names of those who are engaged in subversive activities in our state." These were not words spoken into the wind. Many members of Ryzhov's group were subjected to persecution. Military specialists were singled out in particular. However, as became clear in August 1991, it was not they who presented a threat to the state and to society, but on the contrary, it was precisely the structures which the "farsighted" speaker sought to protect.

Academician Yu. Ryzhov tried to appeal to people in high positions, but he was brushed aside: After all, that was what the Security Council had been created for... It was useless explaining that in the form in which it existed it was a purely decorative organ which was not invested with real powers. These misgivings were vindicated in August 1991 when the Security Council had no influence on the course of events, it played the role of an extra. However, it is significant that even in this "mute"

role it was a thorn in the flesh of the junta, which abolished it with its very first decree..

However, it did not prove possible to turn everyone away from the unpopular concept. V. Rubanov, assistant to V. Bakatin in his post as Minister of Internal Affairs and subsequently deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense and Security, continued to work actively on various aspects of this concept. Now Vladimir Arsentyevich has been appointed to the post of chief of the USSR KGB Analytical Directorate. My conversation with V. Rubanov took place in his impressive office in the Lubyanka.

[Leskov] Vladimir Arsentyevich, let us hypothesize: If a year ago the fate of your concept had taken a different turn, could that have influenced the course of events in the country? To put it simply—could the attempt at a coup d'etat been translated into reality?

[Rubanov] I do not believe that even the most perfect documents can directly influence the development of social processes. Our concept was rejected by the omnipotent functionaries precisely because it proposed a radical change of the security system which served them well and faithfully, protecting totalitarianism rather than society as a whole.

During the six years of the perestroyka essentially nothing was done to restructure the organs of law enforcement and repression. Despite the semblance of democratic changes, the strong-arm, punitive approach has survived in all spheres. Take a look how, to the accompaniment of the slogans about the approaching market, conflicts in the economic sphere are handled in our country. Practically all the noisy scandals around the alternative economy began with competent organs making a political assessment of the situation and, dissociating themselves from it, seeking to find foul play in the actions of businessmen. For the selfsame reason the development of free economic zones is proceeding with such difficulty in the USSR—they are evaluated not on the basis of their economic expediency but rather on the basis of how freely our special services will be able to operate in them. In the civilized world questions of economic security as such do not fall within the sphere of the special services' interests. The latter may be involved by the government only to obtain certain types of secret information, but cannot act as the initiator of a investigation for political motives.

[Leskov] Incidentally, why, in your opinion, no businessman in the United States, and there are many of them, has ever been accused of selling off the fatherland? We have barely embarked on the road to the market, and there is not end of scandals around the alternative economy.

[Rubanov] In the United States should a conflict arise that would be comparable, for example, to the noisy affair about the "140 billions," the Security Council would set up an interdepartmental commission at the highest level. The conclusions of this commission would enable the government to take steps equivalent to the prevailing threat. For example, when the U.S. lags behind Japan in the sphere of semiconductor materials assumed a threatening scale, the Security Council did not seek to identify and detain culprits, but elaborated measures to stimulate the U.S. electronic industry, including private companies, through increased investment and lower taxation. In general, economic issues, which have been so badly neglected in our country, are the subject of the Security Council's close attention in the United States.

We seem unable to cast off the mentality of defenders of a besieged fortress. In tackling all problems, even economic and nationality problems, we are staking on force. Like a classic police state. Ultimately, having amassed a colossal potential of military might, we have proved extremely vulnerable to internal problems. We have a crisis in the political, economic, scientific, and ecological spheres—everything is bursting at the seams. National security, which was brushed aside without much thought, is not ensured in virtually any sphere. The neglect of these questions has resulted in a paradoxical situation where the structures which were destined to ensure the security of the state, presented the main threat to the state and society as a whole in August. What I want least of all is to act as a prophet, however, back in April I wrote in the magazine STOLITSA that, discussing the likelihood of the emergence of a dictatorship in the USSR, it would be more correct to speak of a diagnosis of existing realities, rather than a prognosis. This was proved right. The State Committee for the State of Emergency had no need to change anything in the structure of management in order to seize power.

[Leskov] The U.S. experience is viewed as the ideal example for setting up a system of national security. How would have an attempt at a similar coup d'etat have ended in the United States?

[Rubanov] First, the procedure of the transmission of presidential power is strictly regulated in the United States, there is no scope for individual initiative. A key role in this procedure is played by the Security Council. In addition, it is virtually impossible in the United States for conspirators to isolate the president from society. A special organ, which is part of the structure of the Security Council, the so-called "Situation Room," is constantly monitoring the whereabouts of top leaders. It is of fundamental importance that this organ does not fall under the jurisdiction of either the FBI or the CIA but is part of the structure of the Department of the Treasury.

The legal status of national security is clearly defined in the United States and a corresponding law is elaborated in detail. It formulates the concept of security itself, the structure of the management of the whole system and the place in it of its individual components, including the FBI, the CIA, and other special services. This law defines the procedure for the adoption of all decisions within the

system of national security and is, in my opinion, one of the most important guarantors of the U.S. society's stability. By contrast, I can say that our law on the KGB, elaborated in the bowels of this department, aims merely to preserve this structure. The KGB, just like U.S. special services, should discharge merely special functions and renounce altogether any attempts to formulate political decisions. The Security Council alone should engage in policy-making in this sphere.

[Leskov] The concept of vital interests is of fundamental importance both in the U.S. model of national security and in the concept which you were elaborating a year ago. But how can a median interest be found in our country which is literally being torn apart by irreconcilable conflicts?

[Rubanov] Each community is assessing its own interests in its own way—and this is natural. Chernobyl has prompted the Ukraine and Belorussia to declare their republics nuclear-free zones. Ecological problems are viewed especially criticially in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. The priority of relations with Romania is of importance for Moldova's vital interests. There is no common denominator for disparate national interests, nor can they be supplanted by some kind of unionwide interest formulated by the center. Pressure "from the top" is impermissible here. At union level it is merely possible to coordinate vital national interests and try to balance them to the advantage of all the republics. In seeking to achieve this balance, the preponderance of any one of the vital interests must not be tolerated, and the domination of any of the structures of state management, especially of a strong-arm or repressive character, in the security system as a whole must be avoided. It must be admitted that we have a long way to go to achieve harmony.

[Leskov] Vladimir Arsentyevich, much water will flow under the bridge before we have our own national security system. Could you draw up a diagnosis of the present state of society? What threatens it most of all?

[Rubanov] I see the main threat to society today not in a plot or a military putsch, but in the reform zeal which is being displayed, in the destruction of the structures which are needed by the state in the redeployment of forces. It is sad to see senior officials who formerly rejected change holding forth about it first and foremost now. Could it be that they have seen the light? Nothing of the sort. It is all a matter of a man's honesty. Even in the past it was obvious to any unprejudiced professional that it was dangerous, for example, to keep the presidential guard service within the KGB. Dangerous for some, and convenient for others. The upshot was the coup whose destructive consequences we are now witnessing. If the state structures fall apart, it will be difficult to keep control of the stituation, and against the backdrop of the worsening crisis this may lead to a spontaneous revolt of the people. Loss of control is fraught with the disintegration of society and mob rule. The haste with which we are rushing to destroy totalitarianism holds a great danger. We must not permit the potential of political management to be lost during the destruction of totalitarian structures, we must not allow the loss of skilled cadres without which, I assure you, no structure can function even under the fairest social system. We must not allow the future of our society to be buried under the rubble of totalitarianism. [Rubanov ends]

...For the time being V. Rubanov is talking about the problems of national security as a great expert on this question, and no more. However, soon the chief of the Analytical Directorate, a key component in the KGB structure, will be addressing this problem as part of his official duties. The USSR President has adopted a decision to resume work on the elaboration of the concept of the national security of the USSR. Well, better later than never.

Shevardnadze Reviews Post-Putsch Events

LD1909210791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1838 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Studio interview with former USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by Dmitriy Golovanov; from the "Doubts" program—live]

[Text] [Golovanov] Good evening. You know well the guest of our studio. Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you were one of the first people to join the barricades near the White House in Moscow. You were one of the first to anticipate the danger of a rightist coup. Now the time has come to think it over. Your forecast was correct. And what is your analysis of the events that took place 30 days ago?

[Shevardnadze] It is not very good when bad forecasts come true. But unfortunately, this is what happened. And I think that I was not the only person to have forecast that the country was approaching such a critical stage. There were rehearsals and attempts, I mean, statements about the Baltics, the beleaguered Kremlin, the closed sitting of the Supreme Soviet, Central Committee plenums with their reactionary speeches and demands for the resignation of the general secretary, and many other things. That is why all those events were, in principle, saying that a serious action was being prepared in the country, a serious coup, a rightist coup. I should like to remind you that, as usual, the political council of the Democratic Reform Movement had its sitting on 17th [August] and we unanimously concluded that a rightist coup was the threat of the present time. Unfortunately, it so happened that this voice was not heard.

[Golovanov] Evidently, not just this voice.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I think that one did not have to possess great analytical abilities to come to this conclusion. Unfortunately, now this stage is in the past. And it is more likely that now we have to think about the future, about tomorrow and about how to save the country and how to drag the state out of this critical situation.

[Golovanov] And nevertheless, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you anyway felt, I do not know, you must have felt those springs which set in motion those who wanted to lead us to this black line.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I thought—I felt, saw and noted all this and my colleagues did too. But, you know, I was sometimes shocked by the cold-bloodedness and indifference with which certain people who should have drawn the necessary conclusions from what was taking place in the country, viewed what was going on. Basically I expected that this would happen. My colleagues and I expected that, sooner or later, the country would arrive at this critical stage.

[Golovanov] In that case, permit me to ask you what guarantee there is that, having survived this dark page in our history 30 days ago, the history of the putsch will not repeat itself, if only as a terrible farce? After all, the people who were working toward this putsch, who prepared for it by degrees, have now donned the masks of democrats.

[Shevardnadze] I wish to say that we—all the democrats, reformers, the whole of our people, including the young people and all the progressive sectors of our society i.e. the absolute majority in it—have indeed scored a great victory. Those three great days really will go down in history as a most important stage in the development of our society. But I would not say that the situation in the country has become any simpler. It remains complicated and contradictory and I, for instance, can give absolutely no guarantee that there won't be a repeat of most terrible and dangerous things.

[Golovanov] Can it be said that our executive authorities are still too timid, that our parliaments and councils are perhaps knocking them off course a bit?

[Shevardnadze] This malaise is apparent. But we probably should not be too surprised. After all, the new democracy, its democratic institutions, including the executive bodies and the leaders who head the various sectors - we are all in the process of formation and development. We are all going through this complex and difficult school, this school which is called the school of democracy, of political culture. This is what is lacking after all.

We all realize and understand this. But it seems to me that the time has now come to think seriously about what is going to happen tomorrow. I think that unless we succeed in healing the economy and helping the people—if only in a basic way—by improving the conditions of life, there can be absolutely no guarantee that tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we may not experience still more serious events, maybe of a wildcat or other nature. There is still no guarantee that this won't happen.

[Golovanov] I hear you making a prediction once again. Eduard Amvrosiyevich, I should like to ask you about the current situation in Georgia. It is extremely troubled. You come from there. You are bound to be especially concerned about everything taking place there. Could you tell us how you feel about it, especially as there have been rumors—no doubt you have heard them—that you have been arrested, even though you and I are sitting here in Moscow's Ostankino studio and our conversation is going out live.

[Shevardnadze] Naturally I cannot be indifferent to everything taking place in my motherland, or in the other sovereign states and republics. I think it may be a bit early to make assessments of what is happening. But a process of democratization is taking place.

[Golovanov] The complex process of democratization.

[Shevardnadze] Democratization. The one thing needed now is a sensible, civilized dialogue with the opposition. After all, without such a dialogue with the opposition it is, I think, impossible to speak of real democracy. I do not believe that the tone there is now being set by some kind of adventurists or extremists. It is well known, isn't it, that eminent representatives of the intelligentsia, the working people, young people and students are taking part in this movement for democracy and democratization, for the triumph of the principle of democracy. This cannot be ignored. That is the first thing. I wish the entire people and the leadership success, because, without democracy, there can be no real freedom, independence or happiness.

As regards the rumors that I have been arrested...

[Golovanv, chuckling] Yes?

[Shevardnadze] Maybe it could be said that I am today a prisoner of TV. I don't know...

[Golovanov, still chuckling] That's beyond doubt—for a few minutes.

[Shevardnadze] For a few minutes, yes—but we have begun to break out of that.

[Golovanv] I should like to thank you. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze has been sharing his thoughts and doubts with you. Thank you.

On Defense Conversion, Republics

OW1909155091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] World stability is unthinkable vithout global security and conversion—said Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association and an organizer of the Democratic Reforms Movement. He vas speaking at the seminar sponsored by the Association on "Foreign Policy after the Putsch".

ON DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AND CONVERSION: WE HAVE RUINED THE COUNTRY—THIS IS A DISASTER

E. Shevardnadze named conversion among the crucial and most promising lines in the work of his Association. Fabulous sums are being spent on defence—96.5 billion roubles by official statistics, 300-400 billion in expert estimate. E. Shevardnadze called for a sharp cut in armaments and defence expenditure. "We can't go on like that—we have ruined tne country, this is a crunch, a disaster", he stressed. In the present crisis conversion is one of the chief reserves for at least a minimal economic stabilization. He pointed out that in the field of conversion we could count on substantial help from the West. "Conversion", emphasized Shevardnadze, "should form an integral part of the Soviet Union's new internal and external policies".

PRINCIPLES OF NEW POLITICAL THINKING SHOULD BE APPLIED TO RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIET REPUBLICS

E. Shevardnadze pointed out the important role that can be played by the nev political thinking, a policy that has already helped achieve "major breakathroughs". He favoured the application of its basic principles inside the Soviet Union to relations between the republics as well as between the republics and the centre. In his opinion the centre with its new functions will survive provided no time is lost for that. E. Shevardnadze finds "quite real" the prospect of keeping a single economic, military, strategic, ecological, cultural and democratic space vithin the former Soviet Union. That provides a basis for preparing a new Union treaty. He thinks the republics are also interested in keeping the coordinating centre.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION WOULD MEAN A CIVIL WAR AND TRIGGER OFF A WORLD WAR

We should realize possible consequences of a spontaneous and uncontrolled disintegration of the Soviet Union. That—warned E. Shevardnadze—would result in civil wars between the republics for every disputed patch of land. "That would lead to a European, even a world war", he stressed. This is clearly understood in the West which is consequently interested in keeping the Soviet Union and helping it overcome the present difficulties. "It's in the national interest of the United States and other Western countries to deal vith a stable, normal and civilized Soviet Union", remarked E. Shevardnadze who admitted that following a transitional period the Soviet Union might fall apart, "but the process should by all means be controlled", he insisted.

THE REPUBLICS SHOULD BE HELPED TO TRUST MOSCOW

E. Shevardnadze urged turning about to face the problems of the republics, help them achieve real sovereignty, including their foreign policies. Each republic is striving for a place on the international scene. They should be helped to establish contacts with international economic organisations and with leading Western businessmen. Now we see much emotional and naive action in the republics. E. Shevardnadze is confident that this is a passing phase which will be followed by a harmonisation between national and universal human interests. He hopes after some time the republics will come to see a need for economic and political integration and call for coordinating their foreign policies. They should be helped, in his opinion, to pass this period painlessly and without cataclysms. If the republics believed in the sincerity of such help, they would feel towards the central organisations in Moscow quite differently. That concerns not only the Association led by E. Shevardnadze, but also the USSR Foreign Ministry and other departments.

THE REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED NATIONS: THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD MAKE SPECIAL APPEALS

E. Shevardnadze suggested each republic should be given every assistance in its joining the United Nations. The central government—he urged—should be more active in this question. It should make special appeals to the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

ON RELATIONS WITH HAVANA: CUBA'S LEADERSHIP WAS TREATED UNCEREMONIOUSLY

On relations with Cuba, E. Shevardnadze remarked he had always favoured withdrawing the trainee force from that country and had even talked with the Cuban leaders on it. "But I was against the unilateral action taken without any preliminary consultations when the Cuban Government was faced with an accomplished fact", he conceded. Cuba's pride was hurt by that abrupt and unconsiderate move, he admitted. Granted, the question could have been settled even earlier (and relatively painlessly), but with regard for Cuba's national feeling and special position.

ON THE LONDON MEETING OF THE "SEVEN" AND BALTIC INDEPENDENCE: THINGS COULD BE QUITE DIFFERENT

E. Shevardnadze thinks that if the Soviet Union had recognized the independence of the three Baltic republics prior to the London meeting of the Great Seven, its results could be quite different. The Soviet Union might have obtained much more than it did, including material and moral support from the West. "Circumstances have since forced us to recognize the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania anyway. We knew it was coming, but we still dug in our heels. It vas a tactical error, to say the least", explained E. Shevardnadze.

ON THE PROBLEM OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES: A FRESH APPROACH IS NEEDED

E. Shevardnadze urged a fresh outlook and approach for a solution of the territorial dispute with Japan. He

renewed his offer to sponsor an independent discussion inviting scholars and experts on the problem of those "Northern Territories". He suggested the conclusions of such a conference could be then submitted to an international court. Other variants could also be considered. It's clear, though, the problem calls for an unconventional solution.

RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD: PAST EXPERIENCE IS NO GOOD FOR BUILDING NEW LINKS

According to E. Shevardnadze, the question of relations vith the Third World is becoming extremely complicated. It also needs new principles and conceptions. In his opinion, market economy would help. A better situation on the Soviet consumer market would encourage cooperation vith the third world countries based on mutual benefit and complete equality.

Afanasyev Evaluates Changes in Soviet Union

OW1909124991 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Yuriy Afanasyev, historian and USSR peoples' deputy, by Moscow TV correspondents Tatyana Videneyeva and Aleksandr Panov, on 11 September—recorded]

[Text] [Panov] Our guest is the USSR and RSFSR Peoples' Deputy, Historian Yuriy Afanasyev. Yuriy Nikolayevich, during the days of the Putsch, I heard your interview over Radio Svoboda [Freedom.] It can not be discounted that the president also heard your interview, as is known, being in isolation, he listened to foreign broadcasts and Radio Svoboda almost exclusively. And today we would like to propose that you speak about the present day situation. In one of our past interviews with Andrey Aleksandrovich Vnukin, we agreed that the processes which we are experiencing at present could be defined as, a bourgeois democratic revolution. As a historian, do you agree with this definition, and do any historical analogies come to mind as to what is happening here?

[Afanasyev] It seems to me that there is sufficient foundation to support such a definition if one bears in mind the substance of what is done and what goes on during a revolution. That is, 'bourgeois' could be defined as a return, or obtaining freedom to conduct business, and the most important thing is the assertion of private ownership.

[Panov] The appearance of a business class?

[Afanasyev] Yes, the appearance of a business class, a strata of businessmen, various businessmen at various levels. That is, a radical change in the economic foundations of society at the expense of the assertion of private ownership and free competition in the market economy. If one understands the word 'bourgeois' in this context, then the basis for such an interpretation is more than sufficient.

And as for the 'democratic' content, this is also clear. Because the totalitarian regime is collapsing, its place is being taken by institutes of representative democracy, division of power, and a much larger consideration is given to the aspirations of the civilian society. Whatever change happens in the economic and social plan is also accompanied by stormy, national changes. That is, the empire crumbles at a time when empires no longer exist in the world. And this lends quite a special hue to proceedings on all other levels. The disintegration of this empire, the acquisition of independence and sovereignty by the republics adds a different dynamism to social and economic processes and adds a different rhythm, and occasionally, this is accompanied not only by dramatic sufferings and events, but also tragic ones. Besides this, one must keep in mind that all that is going on—if we are to bring this context down to the bourgeois democratic denouement—is going on in a nuclear state, in a colossally huge nuclear state, and this too leaves a imprint, and I could not put forward an analogy in this case. All this, as always in history is unique, specific, and one can only equate it, how can one put it, by keeping in mind only the most general outlines of what we were speaking about in the beginning.

[Panov] In any event, the present government bodies, which were created for the transitional period, can not in any way be equated to a temporary government, a sad fate will not befall it?

[Afanasyev] I think not, of course. The fact is that, at that time, it was the temporary government of the country, of the state, but today the temporary government bodies are not executive but coordinating bodies. And they are already not central bodies but inter republic, and here there is nothing comparable except that both are temporary, that is true. And I think that the period of their existence will not be very lengthy. That is, the republics will acquire their sovereignty, and maybe even regions, and that which is presently temporary will transform into Republican bodies with even greater coordinating functions and something akin to the style of the European Parliament will in fact become firmly established.

[Panov] Going back to the recently concluded Congress of Peoples' Deputies—perhaps the last one—my colleague from Russian Television, Yevgeniy Kiselev, called Mikhail Gorbachev, 'yesterday's man'. Do you agree with this definition, and how much is the President in control of the situation in the country?

[Afanasyev] It seems to me that he is gradually finding himself, and in fact, many of the Republics' leaders voluntarily and with a sense of responsibility have shifted various duties of inter republican coordinating nature onto Gorbachev. But this is what I would like to say in this regard: When we analyze all that has happened, when we will possess more facts, and when time

separates us a little from those terrifying days, it will become increasingly more clear how all this became possible. That is, I am convinced that in all the years of perestroyka, in particular the last three years, seem to have been compressed into these three days. Lack of confidence, superficiality and inconsistency in policies brought us to the events of the 19 August, and Gorbachev wholly carries the political responsibility for all that happened during those days. He has now made statements and taken steps to reassure literally every one.

That is, in respect of the party, and in respect of necessity for deep structural changes in the economy, he appears—I will not say whether forced or finally from a deep sense of realization, but meeting the demands of the day, is how I would put it—that his recent steps and statements give him a chance to inject himself more naturally into the processes of democratization, the crushing of imperialism and so on, and take on the role of a leader coordinating inter republican bodies. That is, Gorbachev's political career, as I am now convinced, can be extended, and he could play a very positive role to ensure that this revolution continues in an evolutionary manner. Without any shocks, without any cataclysms into which the fates of the people would be inveigled, without any expansion, and without a large number of tragedies and misfortunes. But on the contrary, a revolution in the sense of relaying the vital foundations, but in an evolutionary manner, to minimize misfortunes of which we have had plenty in recent years.

[Panov] God grant that it happens this way, especially because all this will be happening in a hungry country, and a country in which very acute inter ethnic conflicts exist.

[Videneyeva] Some speak of famine, yet others say we are being threatened by the prospect. You spoke of analogies, so what is your opinion about our prospects for the future.

[Afanasyev] It seems to me that the prospects for the immediate future will not be very good. Not only because the real volume of supplies may not suffice, I have in mind, grain, meat, milk, power supplies, and that is why I look upon the desired and realistic humanitarian aid from the West. Maybe that will somehow help us to survive the coming winter, but also much depends on the system of distribution. For all that, trade seems to be the thing which has become the block, and is not giving the opportunity to use even that which has been already manufactured. All this makes me think that our immediate prospects will be very very complex. But, in respect of the more distant prospects, I am more optimistic. But again, on condition that we will not mark time, if we will not continue to show indecision which up to now has been our peculiar wont to display. But if...

[Videneyeva interrupting] But distribution is indecision.

[Afanasyev] That is true, nevertheless the distribution area is also subordinate. We must change attitudes towards property more decisively, we must carry out privatization more decisively, but with society's participation. At the moment it is somewhat perturbing in this sense; joint stock companies are being formed, privatization is under way, but the civilian society seems to be left on the sidelines, like a secret witness to what is happening. And it could turn out something like this; that once this society perceives that everything has been done, everything has been privatized, joint stock shares doled out, and we once again have been made fools of. And then, with the present problems of what we spoke about, that is food, fuel and power, added to by the apparent deception, could produce a very powerful wave, a real tide of new protests...

[Panov interrupting] God forbid, especially as revanchist powers still remain in society. One can not say that the entire matter of revanchist power ends with the arrest of 12, or 16 people in the matter of the KGChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency.]

[Videneyeva] Yuriy Nikolayevich, to put it bluntly, maybe we really need some sort of appeal, the sort of appeal that was made to the people by Yeltsin. Maybe we need something like that to stir the people to do something so that this does not pass by them, so that chairs, as they say currently, are not filled by other people of the same ilk. So that everything is not privatized without society's knowledge, simply, without the people who created it all.

[Afanasyev] The matter here is not only in the change of people in the chairs, but on the ownership of the chairs, ownership of the function or position, is now being exchanged for ownership of cash, if one can put it this way. That is, political rule is being exchanged for economic rule, often by the same people, the very same people. The economic rule, the economic foundations must change. But they will only remain sound if a significant number of people, not simply individuals, will come out as social and economic stratas or classes interested in the entrenchment of democracy, then of course we need an appeal for this, we need to reveal what is going on, but with us unfortunately, in this sense we are not well informed. And now the Moscow businessmen are already protesting against the policies being pursued by the government of Moscow. They are appealing to the businessmen of Russia saying that what is being done now can no longer continue to be done in this way. So I consider that the media, television and press, and we must all join together so that all these processes, firstly, are conducted publicly, and secondly, a guarantee of more participation by society itself in resolution of vital problems which face it.

[Videneyeva] Society can not take part because it simply does not know where to begin. Today we will have guests with whom we are going to talk on the very subject of privatization, which everyone has been already talking about for the past year, and no one really understands exactly what it is...

[Panov interrupting] ...exactly what it is, and it is acquiring a more distorted form.

[Afanasyev] I consider this a great misfortune, because earlier we were dividing ourselves, tentatively speaking of course, into democrats and those who opposed democracy. And we had a great many who had intellectual, emotional and political dissatisfactions with everything connected with the totalitarian epoch. Now this, however not completely, has receded into the past, but to this is added a split on the economic line in society. And if it continues as it has in the past, then it will certainly be accompanied by growth of cataclysms and the augmentation of that wave which will now smash against the democratic power structures, that is against Yeltsin, Popov and so on. And this, I think must be averted by any means or methods possible. There is only way and that is, more involvement by everybody in solving life's problems which face us.

[Panov] Well, many thanks for this morning's chat, I think the viewers...

[Videneyeva interrupting] Let this be the first appeal to our viewers to join in our life more actively.

[Panov] Understand it as if we are living in a new country.

Rise, Fall of 'Perestroyka Parliament' Viewed

PM1809162991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Commentary by Yu. Feofanov: "Rise and Fall of Perestroyka Parliament"]

[Text] It had seemed indisputable: Our political system is taking gigantic steps toward democracy and a rule-of-law state. Could anyone ever have dreamed—the most wonderful dream for some and the blackest nightmare for others—that our socialist country would have a multiparty system and representative parliament, that our citizens would have more than one candidate to choose from in elections, and that our press would be free of censorship? It all happened, however.

And it came crashing down before you even had time to blink: a three-day coup, a one-week extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a one-hour extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, when it was announced that the sovereign republics will be taking power into their collective possession. Deputy Obolenskiy urged the Congress to defend itself as the Russian parliament had defended itself, freedom, and democracy. The Congress did not remain in the Kremlin Palace, however—like the States General of France in the Jeu de Paume two centuries ago.

It would hardly have been a success, anyway. On the morning of 2 September, people's deputies walked between two rows of people shouting "shame" and "go home."

However we regarded the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and its Supreme Soviet, and however the latter discredited itself during the coup, it was still sad to see another burst of Soviet democracy buried beneath the earth. We would like to understand why everything has come to such a rapid and shameful end.

The original cause is obvious: the distorted development of the supreme body of state power—or one-third of it, anyway. Yuriy Afanasyev immediately saw it for what it was: the "aggressively obedient majority." These harsh words, hurled at deputies at a time of euphoria, prompted a storm of outrage but proved to be prophetic. Nevertheless, the First Congress of People's Deputies was a great event: Previously deprived of voice, our society was given the opportunity to say what it wanted—loudly and freely.

The present fall was, alas, predetermined at the very outset. The producers of the First Congress immediately proposed that a parliamentary chairman be elected: Gorbachev, naturally. Academician Sakharov stood alone against everyone else: First there should be a decree on authority and basic policy, and only then elections—with more than one candidate. They did not want to hear what Andrey Dmitriyevich had to say and so prevented him from speaking. So the path was set. Then they tried to "separate Gorbachev": If he wants to head parliament, he should give up his post as general secretary. Either—or. True, the democrats were in the minority. But the Lithuanian delegation was also in the minority when it objected to the hasty introduction of a constitutional court: It got up and left the auditorium in protest, thereby wrecking the producer's plans.

If the democratic minority had stood its ground by taking a similar course of action—either leader of parliament, or general secretary... But it made concessions—or "reached a consensus," to use its own expression. That was the beginning of the end, because the concessions never stopped.

Before the grand finale was reached, however, another two or so years had to pass—a period which saw some very mixed political events. The miners' strikes. Yeltsin's rapid ascent. The destruction of the market. The liberation of East Europe. The Baltic epic. The institution of presidential power. The parade of sovereignties. Parliamentarians viewed these events in different ways, but increasingly often reached an unprincipled consensus for the sake of preserving unity. Again and again they backed down when they should have stood their ground.

The aggressively obedient majority refused to give in to the democrats on the main issue: the economy. The Law on Cooperatives was adopted on the eve of the First Congress. People's deputies did everything to stifle the cooperative movement and, for that reason, it assumed increasingly ugly forms. After rejecting the idea of raising delicatessen prices, parliament allowed the

Ryzhkov government to ruin the market and his successor to finish it off completely. Parliamentarians remained unruffled by the president's betrayal of the "500 Days" program. Against this background, for all the talk of a market system and reform, the country was quite unable to escape the clutches of the planned, command economy.

Perhaps the most striking backtracking manipulations occurred in the state building. This sector saw the most radical reforms, and it was reiterated again and again that there would not and could not be a return to the past, an authoritarian state, and tyranny. But if you recreate past sessions by going back over the stenographic records, it is not hard to see how this backtracking happened. There is no need to list everything, but you get the impression that the people's deputies were led in circles like small children. This reached its culmination with the institution of a presidency.

The president appeared in our midst like a specter. Gorbachev had always categorically rejected the idea of a presidency, but suddenly... As always, the most plausible reasons were given: the need for a strong executive power to extricate the country from crisis. In vain did democratic deputies propose that legislation first be adopted to define the president's powers and limitations, that a system of power be specified from top to bottom, and that nationwide elections be held—in fact, Russia did just that soon after. All in vain. Gorbachev only had to say "curtailed power is no good to me," and all objections evaporated. Generally speaking, the Congress deprived itself of its own intended role by electing a president. Parliament soon began to strip away its own powers and hand them over to Gorbachev. The following words, uttered by a woman deputy (her name is not given in the stenographic account of the session held n 21 September 1990), were the culmination of this:

"I would gather up all the rights there are in this world and give them to Mikhail Sergeyevich so that he could instill order in our country."

These words—"instill order"—have a magical quality: They are extremely popular among the people. All rulers in our country have loved to instill "order." "Order" has always been interpreted as something above the law. But, in any normal rule-of-law society, the law seems to be sufficient to ensure that the administrative mechanism works and citizens know what they cannot do—with the implication that everything else is allowed. That is another matter, however. For now, it is enough to stress that the first thing the August coup promised to do was "instill order."

As the organ of supreme authority, parliament would have been supposed to fulfill one task only: Legislate and act as guardian of the law protecting citizens' rights. Goodness, human rights have been mentioned from parliamentary rostrums time and time again. But what has happened in practice? The law courts have been trampled underfoot by the soviets. The length of time people can be held without legal sanction has been increased from nine months to 18 months. Governments have been allowed to ruin the poor. People have lost the right to appeal against the actions of state power. To say nothing of presidential decrees or of how Anatoliy Ivanovich got the people he needed into office on Mikhail Sergeyevich's instructions—everyone knows about that anyway...

For all that, I was desperately sad when our perestroyka parliament was written off 2 September. Yes, it showed how flimsy it was during the coup. It had worked its way slowly but surely toward this day. But nor we must forget its services to our country, we must put ourselves in its position. It lived and worked with an all-powerful Communist Party which opposed change with every fiber of its being. All its democratic initiatives were resisted by the state apparatus, military-industrial complex, collective farm system, and age-old antidemocratic traditions of the people. I watched a television interview on the evening of 2 September. It was full of spiteful, mocking, ignorant words: "Just a load of talk," "Too busy passing laws," "We need action, but all they do..." People do not want to understand that "talking," i.e. debating procedural issues and legal formulas, is what we elected our representatives to do in the first place. Legal thought has formulated it as follows: "Civilized democracy is procedure upon procedure—a whole chain of almost ritually observed conventions."

And parliament produced so many brilliant personalities previously unknown, who would never have got onto even the lowest rungs of the party hierarchy. Their names would make a very long list.

And then... Remember the enthusiasm and eager attention with which we listened to deputies' parliamentary speeches, sitting in front of our television sets until daybreak. Maybe they were scandalous disclosures rather than constructive discussions of draft laws. But it was the first time our country had seen such a thing: an all-Union public tribune. The Russian State Duma was also called a talking shop, but now it is spoken of well. Our parliament gave us all good and bad lessons in freedom and democracy to the best of its abilities.

Perhaps the death of parliament was a logical development of events. Perhaps it was itself to blame. Nevertheless, we would do better to lay flowers at its grave rather than spit on its memory. Our parliament should go down in history as another unsuccessful attempt to establish democracy in Russia. There is still time to learn from the experience. A dictator has not yet appeared. But he is looming beyond the grave.

Interrepublican Communications Conference Held

PM1809151791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[Report from roundup of TASS and RIA reports: "Coordination Center for Communications"]

[Text] A conference of leaders of the republics' communications administrations and the USSR Ministry of Communications has been held in Moscow. The communications ministers of 12 republics and also observers from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia took part in the conference. The participants in the conference unanimously adopted a decision stressing the expediency of creating an interrepublican coordination organ for communications before the end of this year. For this period the activity of the USSR Ministry of Communications apparatus, which is assigned the coordination of interrepublican and international communications, is maintained.

Poll Shows 'Social Morale' at Low Level

PM1809140791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Sorokin under the "Our Commentary" rubric]

[Text] In the dust of political disputes and the trial of strength among the various parties on the question of which of them is dearest to their people, people, with their concerns and needs, have been pushed aside. Social disorder, a lack of confidence in the future, and the gulf dividing the truths proclaimed on lofty platforms from real life—all these things have led to people's alienation. The market with its frightening uncertainty has confronted everyone with the need to save his own skin.

Undoubtedly even in the past, before perestroyka, there were poor people, prostitutes, and drug addicts in our country. But social morale has never plunged to the level where these phenomena were almost idealized. Here is a bizarre thing: In a Moscow school there was an anonymous poll of girls in the 10th grade, and around one-third of them replied that they wanted to become "foreign currency prostitutes."

Foreign movies portraying the good life in the West which have overwhelmed our air waves and video halls only aggravate the feelings. Nowhere do they show you the toil and sweat that it took to earn that good life.

Yes, our society is sick. It is sick primarily because it has lost its old ideals and has not acquired new ones. The disintegrating Union, national egoism, and interethnic strife—all these things are, of course, consequences of our ailing economy. But they are also its main cause. Just one-third of the population, according to a public opinion poll, believes that our life will improve. What is there left for the other two-thirds?..

Drug Clinic Chief Interviewed on Local Problem

PM1809142991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Nailya Mazitova, manager of a drug addiction clinic in Kazan, by correspondent N. Morozov under general heading "Falling Into the Abyss"; date of interview not given: "Prisoners of Dope"]

[Text] Drug abusers, alcoholics, and substance abusers are prisoners of their own lack of willpower. "These are people who do not belong to themselves," Nailya Mazitova, who runs a drug addiction clinic, confirmed what I was thinking.

[Morozov] Are you looking after many patients today?

[Mazitova] No, our republic is not noted for its drug addiction problem. There are just over 200 registered drug addicts. On the other hand we have information that puts the number of alcoholics as high as 73,000. But generally speaking all this information is provisional. After all, treatment here is organized on an exclusively voluntary basis.

[Morozov] What age groups and social groups are most affected by drug addiction?

[Mazitova] From what I have seen, there are three areas in which drug addiction thrives nowadays: vocational colleges, the Army, and prison. As far as age is concerned, the spectrum is extremely wide: We are treating an 11-year-old boy and a 50-year-old man.

[Morozov] And they are here together, under the same roof?

[Mazitova] That is what is so tragic... The older generation is not setting a good example to the young. As a rule, adult drug addicts "book in" to our establishment for the rest of their lives...

[Morozov] Do you feel that drug addiction has been on the increase over recent years?

[Mazitova] You can hardly call it that. After all, marijuana and needles are an expensive "pleasure"; they cannot be used on a mass scale. But substance abuse among the young is quite another matter.

[Morozov] Is it difficult for a sick person to get a place in your clinic?

[Mazitova] No, we do not refuse treatment to anyone who wants it. There are nearly always free places.

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA on Complaints of Subscription Problems

PM1809135591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by V. Kozhemyako: "Experienced Inexperience. How People Are 'Separated' From PRAVDA"]

[Text] For many people the subscription period for a periodical publication is a time of nervous stress. I know this from previous years, when I have had to listen to many complaints about all manner of obstacles and absurdities people have encountered in post offices.

Alas, it would appear that this year has not seen a breakthrough. On the contrary, annoying new phenomena have appeared, directly connected with our newspaper at that. All the signs suggest that PRAVDA's closure was seen by some postal service workers as having no expiry date. Closed—well, that means for keeps. At any rate, this is the idea you get from some phone calls to the editorial offices from Muscovites.

Fedor Viktorovich Kireyev lives on Zelenogradskaya Ulitsa. He went to Post Office No. 475 to subscribe to PRAVDA, from which he has been inseparable for many years; but on the door was a notice: "PRAVDA removed from subscription lists." What was the meaning of this? He approached an official, but she snapped that she could not help him at all. He stood around, stamped up and down, then went off empty-handed.

An unpleasant surprise awaited Andrey Grigoryevich Kalashnikov, who lives on Borovskoye Shosse, at Post Office No. 633: He could not find PRAVDA in the catalog. He too asked an official, but she replied:

"You see, subscription to PRAVDA is banned."

"Why?"

"I don't know. It's banned, and that's all there is to it."

He and his wife tried for a long time to persuade the post office official to register them anyway for a subscription to their favorite newspaper. Others, less patient and insistent, having received the thumbs-down, went away.

Let me say directly: The explanations I received from the managers of these post offices were quite incomprehensible. The officials were inexperienced, I was told; someone had torn out the relevant page from the catalog; and the notice that was hanging up was probably an old one, dating from the time of the ban on PRAVDA...

Aren't subscribers suffering from rather too many absurdities? At the city Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter agency and the Moscow General Post Office they shared my indignation. Verbally, at least. They assured me: We will take measures. But of course there have been such assurances in the past also. How much longer will this go on?

TASS Reviews 20 September Central Press

LD2009080191 Moscow TASS in English 0622 GMT 20 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Informing readers about the opening of the Russian legislature session in Moscow on Thursday, today's newspapers say deputies decided to put off Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech because of his illness and wait until he recovers.

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper, commenting on the speech at the session of its Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, singles out his words that "disintegrative processes are mounting in the USSR" and his call "to be prepared for the variant of the Russian Federation's independent development."

Newspapers describe a report on the socio-economic situation in the Russian Federation delivered by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Lobov as the main event of the first day of the session. The press writes the report contained alarming estimates.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA points out the reporter's statement that "measures being taken by the Russian government have so far failed to stabilise the situation in the republic."

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper calls the situation described in Lobov's report as a "depressing picture," especially in the agricultural, fuel and energy sectors.

PRAVDA, writing that in his speech Lobov portrayed a "gloomy picture," stresses that production keeps plunging in the republic, national income is falling and inflation is rising. Commenting on the Russian government's proposals to haul the country out of crisis, the newspaper describes them as "unconvincing."

The selection of figures published on the first page of the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper vividly illustrates the critical situation developing in Russia. The figures show that there are more than 200,000 refugees from other regions of the country in the Russian Federation now and their number is expected to increase by another 160,000 by the end of the year. As many as 1.3 million people won't be able to find a job in the republic shortly. The share of the Russian population living below the poverty line rose to 80 per cent. Inflation in the republic can hit 30 per cent this September.

The problem of refugees is raised today in the selection of publications from other regions of the country carried by PRAVDA. Emphasising that the problem is exacerbating, the newspaper writes the measures taken do not correspond to the magnitude this problem is reaching. PRAVDA draws the unconsoling conclusion that "it will hardly be possible to solve the problem of refugees within the scope of the country in the foreseeable future."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA features an interview with Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who speaks in detail about the forthcoming and current reforms in the Soviet Armed Forces. He singles out as a key task the need to bring in line democratic reforms in society and the Army.

In an interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Soviet KGB Analytical Department Chief Vladimir Rubanov informs readers about the guidelines along which the State Security Committee is being restructured and about the re-orientation in the work of the department headed by him.

Under the headline "I Tried Not To Ask Unnecessary Questions" KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA features, as the newspaper itself calls it, a "confession" by former Soviet State Radio and Television Company Chairman Leonid Kravchenko. He speaks in detail about his vision of the preparations for and the attempt to stage a putsch on August 19- 21, the details of the events of those days, in which he had to become a direct, although, as he said, unwilling participant. Kravchenko emphasised he was put in such conditions when he was compelled to fulfil the orders of several secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and other leaders of the putsch "without asking unnecessary questions." Kravchenko notes he simply "became a pawn in the grandiose chess game."

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA keeps printing chapters from the book "I Hope..." by Raisa Gorbachev, wife of the Soviet president.

The key topic of international news is the situation in Yugoslavia. The press writes the measures being taken in Yugoslavia itself and by the international community have so far failed to stop bloodshed. The situation in the country is being aggravated.

In the commentary titled "Is There a Way Out of the Yugoslav Impasse?" KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stresses that "there are no winners in a civil war." Simultaneously, the newspaper points out that "we should draw quite a number of useful lessons from the bitter Yugoslav experience." One of them is "is the need to preserve and solidify for the transition period the role and functions of the federal president...otherwise, we risk to invite a catastrophe which by its magnitude will be by far greater than the Yugoslav drama."

Economic

Officials Agree on IMF Membership Terms

OW1909212891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR and the International Monetary Fund are likely to establish official relations following an exchange of letters signed by the IMF chairman and the USSR president.

IF [INTERFAX] learned from the USSR State Bank that on September 19 an IMF expert team led by IMF European Department Director Massimo Russo had come to agreement with their Soviet colleagues on the terms on which the Soviet Union is to receive IMF associate member status. These terms require, inter alia, that the USSR must give full information concerning its balance of payments and gold and foreign exchange reserves and they will be spelled out in the proposals to be shortly directed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

If Mr. Gorbachev accepts these terms, the Soviet Union and IMF will establish official relations in late September, said a senior USSR State Bank official.

According to him, in the course of consultations with the IMF delegation, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Deputy Finance Minister Andrey Zverev formally announced that Russia "aspires" to membership in the IMF and the World Bank but "does not yet see it possible to cooperate with these agencies until the USSR has a special associate member status." However, Russia does not rule out the possibility of concluding bilateral agreements, for example, in personnel training, macroeconomic research, etc.

Aid Conditional on 'Adherence' to Market

91UF1179B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by A. Portanskiy: "For the Economy From Abroad. They Really Do Want To Help Us"]

[Text] **The willingness and readiness of the industrially developed countries to provide economic aid to the Soviet Union has obviously grown compared to the time of the recent "G-7" meeting in London, where M. Gorbachev was promised technical and humanitarian aid on condition that real reforms in the direction of the market were carried out in the USSR.**

"Our traditions of humanitarianism and our own interests dictate for us the need to help the Soviet Union to prevent famine." This was stated by the influential politician and Democratic majority leader in the U.S. Senate, G. Mitchell. "Together with the G-7 countries or alone if necessary, the United States should state its intention of helping the Soviet people with deliveries of produce, and should provide humanitarian aid so that they can survive the coming winter."

In Japan the possibility is being examined of accelerating deliveries of emergency food aid worth $100 million to the Soviet Union.

The readiness of many countries to help the Soviet Union has moved to the forefront the task of international coordination of this aid. German Finance Minister T. Waigel stated the following on Tuesday: "International cooperation among the industrially developed countries has improved sharply in recent years," he said in particular, "but it is precisely their ability to help the process of economic reform in Eastern Europe that is a real check on the real level of this cooperation." The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the European Community should play a major role in the organization of coordination of aid for the Soviet Union, Waigel pointed out. Following his colleague, the

French minister of state for the economy, finance, and the budget, P. Beregovoy, the German finance minister proposed that use be made of a "Marshall plan" approach, which has already stood the test of time, to provide assistance to boost the Soviet economy. Credits within the framework of such a plan would be capable of providing the initial impetus for economic growth on the scale of a country the size of the USSR.

The question of providing massive economic aid to our country was touched upon by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker during his interview with journalists before he flew to Moscow. The condition for that aid, he said, remains political and economic changes in the USSR, in particular adherence to the principles of the market economy. This does not mean that "it is first necessary to take the appropriate steps." However, Baker did note that "they should demonstrate their adherence to such steps." Here, he emphasized that without doubt "the Soviet Union and the Soviet people should themselves determine their future course, while the future course of the republics should be determined by the corresponding republics and the people living in them."

Republics' Economic Interrelations Discussed

PM190915 1991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Romanyuk report: "Reviving Economic Ties Is Feasible"]

[Text] "Relations between states," A. Bektemisov, member of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy and chairman of the Kazakh Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], said, "must be based both on interstate and multilateral agreements and on purely market principles. Every state pledges to preserve economic and cooperation ties within the framework of the sectors that have taken shape and continue the efforts to create a single economic space.

The draft agreement on organizing interstate economic ties for 1992 examined by the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy is based on the principle of republic sovereignty and independence. It is in effect a question of resolutely overcoming economic disintegration and of the economy's operating on new principles. Movement of industrial and technical output and consumer goods—admittedly, from a limited list agreed by the states—will be placed under strict control. Hard-currency purchase quotas, sales licenses, and export quotas act as economic regulators.

All this by no means affects the republics' sovereignty: They are entitled to utilize any forms of regulation (state orders, priority shipments and deliveries). The only condition being that the "rules of play" should be unified. As for the state order, it is to be set at a unified level. A management organ is needed to provide overall coordination and resolve interstate problems. What kind of body—a consultative body?

Many people with whom I discussed this problem think that this organ should be vested with powers of authority. Of course, within the framework of the powers delegated to it.

What functions is it intended to transfer to the center? The following: guaranteeing the country's defense needs regarding production of arms and military hardware; transport and communications insofar as production and operational requirements are concerned; development of the fuel and energy complex; investment in basic scientific research; creation of interstate reserves, including in case of natural disasters and catastrophes; and guaranteeing foreign economic commitments and interstate programs (Chernobyl, the Aral, Semipalatinsk, etc).

But there is the question: Who will tackle all this? The old structures have become outdated and are virtually paralyzed. So, new ones must be set up urgently. The agreements to be concluded must be strictly supervised and penalties imposed on those who breach them.

Three problems were noted here. First, a special agreement will be needed to determine the procedure for shaping the budget for the production of military hardware and supplies of strategic materials. Second, there is a special proviso regarding the inadmissibility of reexporting (reselling) output supplied under interstate agreements—the temptation to exploit the price differential may prove too great. Third, interstate reserves will be set up as a unified economic fund and the participants must specially stipulate the means of utilizing this fund to ensure that there is no repetition of the sorry fate that befell the stabilization fund—which was announced but never set up.

A very important element is the fact that the draft agreement calls for tremendous mutual responsibility for nonfulfillment of commitments at government (or plenipotentiary organ) level. The republic states will not be entitled to unilaterally cut or halt deliveries to other republics. Provision is also made for a unified system of accountability and a unified information bank to be set up. The document's appendices stipulate a list of stockholders for interstate needs and a list of products whose free sale is restricted, along with interstate balances for the most important areas of economic activity.

What is the upshot of all this? The main conclusion is that the process of republic sovereignization and the breakup of the Union that began stormily is today increasingly supplemented by a countermovement aiming to coordinate efforts and build up potentials. While the politicians argue, economists and economic planners are already working actively to set up a single economic space—with all the requisite mechanisms for this. The participants in the discussion agree that it is necessary to immediately begin shaping interstate relations for 1992. The new centralized structures will lose

the chance to put pressure on the sovereign states; they will only be able to exercise powers of authority within the limits of the functions, rights, and currency assets delegated to them.

The republics' actions on the world market were a separate topic for discussion. Without doubt, complete accord is needed here even if just to avoid unnecessary competition and artificial influence on world prices. Moreover, the republics' sovereignty by no means precludes the formulation of unified balances both on an interstate basis and within the framework of the single economic space or the creation to this end of a corresponding management structure. An up-to-the-minute analysis of the situation in various regions is needed to maintain the overall economic equilibrium.

The question of new managerial structures is particularly pressing today. The leaders of the old ministries and departments are vying with one another in sending the Union president their requests and arguments for their continued existence. It is not impossible that corresponding decrees will follow shortly. In this connection it was suggested that the USSR president be asked to coordinate these decisions with the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy.

I think that the subject of the discussion at the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy is becoming particularly topical due to the discussion of the draft Treaty on an Economic Union of Sovereign States that has begun at the State Council. The document which the committee has prepared will represent an important addition to the decisions that the State Council will adopt. The agreement on organizing interstate ties for 1992 does not merely dovetail current economic ties, but also represents the way to long-term accord.

Programs Must Consider Individual Interests

PM1909154191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Article by Prof. Viktor Tomashkevich, PRAVDA economic observer, under "Economic Barometer" rubric; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Programs, Proposals, Conventions... But Things Are Still in a Poor Way"]

[Text] Nowadays, interest in the economy is growing. This is understandable. If the economy is strong we will live like people, and vice versa. Many extremely varied proposals for extricating the country's economy from its crisis have appeared. Often the viewpoints are directly opposed. This, clearly, is a good thing—debate gives rise to the truth. The people themselves will work out what is what. With due consideration of all this, PRAVDA invites anybody who so wishes to express their opinion on the given problem. At the same time, we announce that two eminent economists have agreed to become the newspaper's permanent economic observers: they are Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Prof. Viktor Yevgeniy Tomashkevich, doctor of economic sciences. Today it is the latter who takes the floor.

The leaders of our economic life are in a fever. Barely is there time for the ink to dry on any one draft for improving the economy than someone comes up with another. Competition on the programs market is intensifying. Naturally, each author is striving to win honor as the Father of the Market Economy.

Of course, this is all quite usual for that society toward which we are striving: which means there is nothing reprehensible in any of this. The more so as it is not just the "oldies" in the form of G. Yavlinskiy and S. Shatalin who are going into battle again. Yet one more author entrusted with the highest economic posts—Ye. Saburov—has edged into their long-standing alliance.

It is characteristic that the desire to get a good press is not accompanied by excessive self-advertisement. All the authors display outward restraint, and they have prepared ways of retreating and sheltering from criticism: Indeed, all the proposals are merely conceptual approaches. The old democratic ritual is still observed: Drafts are referred to higher and lower authorities for consultation.

And so one has to wait: But the authors know—without a doubt they know—that the addressees will not let them down. As for the general public, clearly it is deemed sufficient to publish newspaper summaries by commentators interpreting the thoughts of the program-makers pioneering the new market space. Forgive me for these hostile words. But how can one undertake such a grandiose venture without fully informing the people of what it entails and where it will take them? This is a blatant strategic miscalculation. You know, in such an epochal matter, support in the higher echelons is worth next to nothing without support from the lower strata. Therefore, I suggest that all the programs, proposals, conventions, and everything else that exists be published as quickly as possible, right down to the last comma.

Let's take a look at what has been published. What is immediately striking on first reading? In all the proposals, it is the enterprises—not living people and their interests—and the republic-states which constitute the chief subjects of the future market. The pathetic exclamations about freedom of enterprise and economic independence have no basis whatsoever.

The division of property on a national-territorial principle is convincing proof of this. Labor collectives and enterprises are nothing more than statistics when cutting up the Union pie. They are being promised that they will subsequently be granted permission to purchase something. National-market philosophy is not only alien to the international nature of the market but it will inevitably hit the national-political interests and the sovereignty of the republics themselves. Here too, even in the new conditions, the politics of the moment have all but

stifled the economy as represented by the commodity producer—that is, the enterprise—while proposed guidelines on how to live henceforth actually compound this.

The economic sovereignty of enterprises must take precedence over the political sovereignty of republic-states: As for property, it must be unconditionally handed over to the labor collectives. If the state sees any reason to participate in such transactions, then it must purchase property out of its own budget, and only if the collective agrees to this. All republics and all states must be given the right to purchase property. That way, property will unite republics, whereas now it—the property—is arrayed in national garb and resembles a time bomb.

I believe that this is the most fundamental problem. Its solution determines the possiblity of progressing in all remaining areas. The question of transferring property to labor collectives and its subsequent redistribution among purchasers—if the collective so wishes—must be uppermost in any of the programs forming the single economic space. Market structures at republic or interrepublic level will not create this space. Such structures could become phony, functioning at zero capacity even though the resolution authorizing their creation may sport the signatures of 10 or 15 presidents. A single market space can be founded only on the interests of commodity producers, the enterprises. Everything else should serve them and gradually spring up from the demands of the enterprises themselves.

One more observation. Let's look at the publicized summaries through the eyes of the common man. After all, all this is ultimately being done for his benefit. What is in it for us? Precisely nothing. No, the common man's interests are not represented there.

Adherence to the program procedures of previous years—including as far back as 30 years ago—have much to do with this shortcoming. This means that macroeconomic theories for setting up a single economic space and market economy must be supplemented by a series of concrete steps directly concerned with the everyday interests of the individual. These interests can become the yeast of economic life, its distinctive motor. The programs must reflect this approach. Then people will understand them and, through their interest, confront the more "lofty" market problems. Of course, uniting all this in one document or a series of documents forming one whole is, as pilots would say, like performing low-altitude aerobatics. In the economy, too, the closer one is to the ground the greater the skill required. I suggest that one such measure should comprise the inclusion in the program of a section on developing the construction industry for the population and creating, for example, a Russian or interrepublic association (joint-stock company)—"Stroymaterialy Naseleniyu" (SMN) ["Construction Materials for the Population"]. It must be fully independent of state management structures and maintain relations with them purely on a commercial basis, while its incorporation capital will be formed from the population's money through the purchase of shares and bonds at any savings bank.

These and similar problems must not be avoided by including them in large-scale drafts. We should take due account of the specifics and peculiarities of our state, of our population. Reared on dozens if not hundreds of sham programs, and deafened by drum rolls in honor of future as yet unattained victories, our tormented common man searches for his own interests in every line of the official documents. But they remind us more and more that protocols on intentions do not bind anybody to anything.

State Bank Loses Control Over Money Printing

LD1909184991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Blagorov, director of the USSR State Bank mint, says that the State Bank has practically lost control over the number of notes which it is printing. Rubles are at the moment being printed 24 hours a day.

Computations Indicate 'Hyperinflation' Exists

LD1909184691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to the latest computations, hyperinflation is already present in our country. Prices are rising by 2 to 3 percent weekly.

Aeroflot Republic Branches Seek Independence

OW1909225491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 19 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Demonopolisation that has been unfolding in Soviet civil aviation has produced independent air companies both in the republics of what had been the USSR and in some of Russia's regions.

The former republican branches of Aeroflot are now striking out on their own, including the newly born Ukrainian Airlines, the Armenian Airlines, the Lithuanian Airlines, the Estonian Airlines, etc. They have been registered as juridical persons and pursue independent tariff and price policies.

The assets and facilities of the West Siberian branch of the Civil Aviation Department have been used to establish Tyumenaviatrans, an association which plans, among other things, to build an international airport in Tyumen Region. The Kamchatavia airline has been created on Kamchatka Peninsula, the Far East, and eight

state-run air traffic agencies in the east of the USSR have established a Far Eastern Air Corporation. Airports, including those in the cities of Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Blagoveshchensk, have received economic autonomy.

However, the republican companies are not yet seeking a complete break with Aeroflot. According to officials at the Civil Aviation Ministry, some of the republican airlines, including those of Lithuania and Kazakhstan, requested permission to use Aeroflot markings. The point is that Aeroflot had signed agreements on cooperation in air traffic with more than 100 countries, has a well-developed system of international ties and is well known in the world.

Advertisement for Universal Commodity Exchange

LD2009080391 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 20 Sep 91

["Advertisement—Universal Commodity Exchange"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Universal Commodity Exchange—the joint stock "recycled resources of Russia" is a closed stockholder society with a charter capital of 15 million rubles divided into one hundred and fifty 100,000 ruble shares. Each stockholder can own not more than 20 per cent of the charter capital.

The exchange conducts the following operation:

—Sales production and consumption of waste materials, Soviet and foreign technologies and equipment to process them;

—Provides organisational, legal, scientific and engineering assistance in carrying out republican, joint and foreign projects and programmes for using recycled materials in the Russian Federation, helps set up and launches production lines, using recycled materials, and ecologically safe technologies;

—Researches Soviet and foreign markets of recycled materials, provides enterprises and organisations with information on technogenic sources of natural resources, recycled materials and technologies to extract ferrous and non-ferrous metals, construction materials and mineral fertilisers from waste materials;

—Examines extraction wastes and processing of natural resources.

The realisation of the exchange's programmes will help:

—Considerably improve the ecological situation in the country;
—Reduce the use of primary resources by 20 per cent;
—Reduce transport and labour expenses in some industries;
—Make large hard currency profits.

The exchange plans to hold the first tenders of basic recycled resources in December 1991.

The address: K-51 KTF "Poligraphressursy," 26, Petrovka St.,

121409 Moscow

Rooms: 110 (organizational committee of the exchange), 112, 114

Telephones: 921-82-87
921-77-07
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Telex: 412211 Pimex
Teletype: 207787 Impex
Fax: 200-63-08

Agricultural

Minister Predicts No Famine; Shortages Possible

LD1909175991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Soviet Deputy Agriculture Minister Yuriy Mordvintsev has said there will be no famine in the country, though irregularities in food supplies, specifically bread and flour in some areas, are possible.

On the general situation he said that this year there is no less food than in the past. He estimated the grain harvest at 170 million tonnes.

However, the government procurement agencies have so far purchased 50 percent less grain than usual at this time. Like before, grain is imported to make up for the shortages.

Commodities Official Discusses Grain Marketing

LD1909222291 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Besides grain purchases on U.S. credit, there will possibly be additional deliveries of grain to the USSR to a large sum, Yuriy Milyukov, chairman of the Exchange Committee of the Moscow Commodities Exchange, told TASS.

He said that the possibility of marketing through the commodities exchange of about 1 billion dollars worth of grain purchased by foreign buyers to ship to the USSR will be discussed at the commodities exchange one of these days. Milyukov refused to divulge details of the planned deal, saying that the negotiations have not yet been concluded.

Making forecast for the development of the grain market at the Moscow Commodities Exchange, Milyukov said that other upsurge of activity can hardly be expected

until the end of the year. Dealers' optimism before the harvest quickly died down with the disintegration of economic ties and with the manifestation of firm determination to channel grain "towards fulfilling a large state order" and the implementation of the Russian leadership's ban on the transportation of grain outside Russia.

Still there may be doubts about the marketing of imported grain through the commodities exchange. Milyukov said foreign merchants may find commodities exchange prices too steep. They are inclined to sell grain cheap.

Grain prices at the latest biddings at the Moscow Commodities Exchange reached 2,600 roubles per tonne.

Latest Grain Harvest Forecasts 'Inspire Hope'

PM1809155591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Report by I. Dvorkin and K. Danin from Kustanay Oblast; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] How will we get through the winter? What will we eat? These questions are currently worrying experts, leaders, and consumers alike. Here is an interesting detail. Up until 19 August we were being intimidated by figures which were forecasting an unusually poor harvest this year.

Now somewhat different data are emerging. They inspire hope that we will be able to survive the winter. According to the latest data it is planned to harvest between 180 and 185 million tonnes of grain this year.

[Dvorkin] At first sight the fields look all right. But on closer inspection you see that the growth is sparse and the ears are small. Following the drought, Kustanay Oblast, Kazakhstan's main grain producing area, is expected to harvest over one million tonnes less grain than usual. The situation is much the same in virtually all the oblasts in Kazakhstan.

The current harvest, which is characterized by the absence of slogans, worries about fuel shortages, annoying frequent breakdowns of machinery, concern that it will not be possible to harvest everything that has been grown, and worries about future debts, is prompting people to think about profound economic reforms, as, for example here, on the "Bish-tauskiy" sovkhoz [state farm].

[I.Ye. Yestayev, sovkhoz director, identified by caption] We already have collective ownership in teams. We have seven crop-farming teams. Pamurzin's team, for example, or Koskolov's. They are very good teams. What we need to do now is to proceed toward private ownership, once the country has provided us with stable, affordable prices for machinery, fuel, and spare parts and ensured regular supplies. There should be no problem, provided that is done!

[Dvorkin] Getting ready to privatize, farms are using grain as their main currency, as a means of barter in the acquisition of machinery and construction materials, as feed for livestock—the lower the prime cost of meat, the higher the profit—and as a lever to rid themselves of the Ministry of Grain Products' monopoly in the grain trade.

For the time being there is plenty of grain at the threshing floors, while the granaries are empty. Only just over 20,000 tonnes of grain have been sold to the state in the oblast.

The republic government decision doubling the grain purchase price and offering sales of machinery and goods in exchange may improve the situation.

On the other hand, oblasts have been set targets for grain deliveries to state stocks which exceed the state order. It is difficult to say which of the measures will prove more effective. In any event, the coupling of the administrative stick with the market relations carrot may prevent a grain shortage. However, the causes of this shortage, which are inherent in the inefficient system of procurement and distribution itself, are not likely to disappear.

Early Sep Weather, Crop Conditions Reported

914A1197A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 2

[Article by A. Grishina: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] It is growing cold. Light frosts in the air and at the surface of the soil (from minus 1 to minus 4 degrees) were noted in the Northern region, in a number of oblasts of the Northwestern and Central regions, and in places in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldova, the Central-Chernozem and Volga-Vyatka regions, the area of the Volga, and the Urals.

The development of winter grain crops has been somewhat slow. The winter rye was for the most part at the stage of sprouts and the third leaf. Only those plants sown in the first half of August have thickened out. The cultivable layer of the soil generally contained 30-50 mm of productive moisture, and in places the soil was oversaturated. There was generally sufficient moisture in the cultivable layer in the northern half of the Ukraine and the Northern-Caucasus region as well as in Saratov and Volgograd Oblasts where the optimal time period for the sowing of winter crops had set in.

In the agricultural zone of Western Siberia rain complicated harvest efforts, while over the majority of the northern half of Kazakhstan there was little precipitation. The growth and development of winter grain crops in Western Siberia progressed with a sufficient supply of warmth and moisture.

In the republics of Central Asia and in the south of Kazakhstan there was warm and dry weather that was

favorable for the formation of additional bolls on the cotton plants and for their opening. By 10 September 8-11 bolls had formed on a single plant over the majority of the territory, which is close to the annual average number.

In Azerbaijan conditions for the formation of bolls were also favorable.

Military

Shaposhnikov Comments on Defense Ministry Tasks

LD1909112291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1235 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; live or recorded]

[Text] [First announcer] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, minister of defense, has recently been giving many interviews. This goes to show that he is open to the press and to journalists, and hence all we journalists are allowed to participate in tackling the problems that the Army has. And so, here is an interview with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov.

[Second announcer] New appointments to high posts have been recent topics in public and political life. People are such that they connect this with hopes for changes—for the better, naturally. We found out from a presidential decree of 24 August that Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov was appointed defense minister. There is immense and understandable interest in this appointment, and also in the personality of the new minister. After all, the long-awaited Army reform is bogged down and has been for years. How will things go in the future? Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, replies to our questions.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, when a person takes up a new appointment, he is congratulated. However, I would like to express my sympathies to you because hopes are pinned on you, but the burden is very heavy. So first of all, I would like to ask you, how much rest do you get per day, how many hours?

[Shaposhnikov] I get about seven hours.

[Reporter] Your horoscope sign is the horse. They say the horse will take it all on his back, but even a horse's back can be broken. What fellow thinkers have you found for yourself?

[Shaposhnikov] We have fresh forces—my fellow thinkers are first and foremost Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, chief of the General Staff, and Colonel General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, first deputy minister of defense. We have had a change of commanders in chief of the Air Force and the Air Defense Force, and of other officers and generals. Naturally I understand that it is difficult to put all our ideas into effect, but at the same time, I am certain that we can manage it.

[Reporter] Well, it is part of our thinking, and has been before this, that a fighter pilot arrives, and everyone knows about the flying fraternity. They are reliable, clever, and professional, and so one wants to ask them to take charge. Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev is a paratrooper, and paratroopers do not disgrace themselves. How are you shaping your cadres policy?

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to warn everybody, assure them that because a pilot has come into the leadership, it does not mean he thinks that the pilots are up with the gods, that they are better than everyone else in professional and intellectual terms. I take another position. Of course, I like airmen, but all the same, there has to be fairness in everything. I am certainly not trying to put airmen and nobody else in all the key posts, we will be putting worthy people into these posts, including sailors and paratroopers. So everyone will be treated according to their skills, their abilities, their personal contribution.

[Reporter] Another question that I believe also concerns cadres policy: There exists the body of generals. In the public mind, this is a nomenklatura of, let us say bluntly, people who are no longer young, but energetic people. There exists a certain stratum of young officers with progressive views. Well, will the generals hold back the progress of certain people?

[Shaposhnikov] I already have plans, quite fair ones, to prevent this. We have a law that when a colonel general reaches the age of 60, he is obliged to retire; a lieutenant general or major general has to retire at 55; and a colonel at 50. Unfortunately, we have quite a lot of people working past retirement age, who are over 60. I would not want to say that they will be retired, because we have professors and doctors and academicians, and of course we shall cherish the clever people in the Army who are capable of moving our cause forward. At the same time, the retirement of a large number of over-age officers and generals would make it possible for us to appoint an even greater number of young officers and generals to their posts, ones who are capable of tackling the tasks in today's conditions.

[Reporter] In your interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, you said, speaking figuratively, that it is better for an army to be lean and fit than fat and sick. Well, it is well known that it is sometimes very difficult to slim down, it takes a long time. Over what time scale does the army plan for slimming down? In other words, does it mean cuts?

[Shaposhnikov] At the moment we have units where the manning is 70-80 percent. There are many of them. If they are merged, then dozens of units will simply cease to exist. That is one approach to this issue. The second approach is to relieve the army as much as possible of functions that do not suit it. I have come across certain generals and certain officers here who, when you start

asking them what they do, what their functions are, are confused and can't reply straight away. For example, I was recently in the outer office of our President Gorbachev—I was sitting there quite a while, since the President was busy with other matters—and I saw this person working in the office; he was working very efficiently, answering telephone calls, receiving memos. That is something like the structure that I would like to build, so that there are no superfluous people, because we have inflated some administrations to incomprehensible proportions, and this does more harm than good, and it puts these clerks into a time-wasting frame of mind, so to speak.

[Reporter] I totally disagree with the opinion of our Blagoveshchensk listener, who just put her initials. Her view is this: Where are we ordinary people of Russia to get protection from the Soviet Army? This Soviet communist force has swallowed up everything; it has gobbled up our economy, it has gobbled up our lives, it is gobbling up the lives of our people.

[Shaposhnikov] Hardly a day goes by for me without seeing some delegation with all kinds of suggestions or questions concerning service in the Armed Forces for our young men, their social protection and, on the other hand, concerning how the army can be made cheap and effective. And for me, there does not exist any left or right wing at the moment. They are all people. First and foremost, we are one society. And every argument has its share of truth. But when it comes to an exchange of insults and accusations, I think that has to be avoided. We have enough common sense. If in these conditions of the perestroyka period we have found within ourselves the wisdom to make friends with our former presumed enemies, the United States, and have cut our strategic nuclear forces, and have made friends with the Federal Republic of Germany and are withdrawing our troops from their territory, then I think that we have all the more grounds to consolidate among our own people and to resolve all the problems.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, the Radio Rossii staff has a most benign attitude toward the army. We and you have great advantages. You and your colleagues can have the opportunity of being live on the air, to come and answer the phone calls from our listeners. It is our duty to inform our listeners about what you do and what you do not manage to achieve. And then I think we will achieve this unity. Nevertheless, the reason I picked this letter is that it states that the military industrial complex and the army are one entity. But these are different things. I think that such programs are needed also because of their educational value. They explain the situation to the people. Let's suppose that the army is considered to be involved in selling weapons.

[Shaposhnikov] The Army is not involved in selling weapons. There is much here that is based on a lack of clarity. There is an expression: Everybody considers himself a strategist when watching from outside the battlefield. In this aspect, somebody could get excited by something or other. Let us say he sees a drunken officer and starts saying that all the Army is like that drunken officer, or that somebody wants the hazing of new conscripts eliminated. But, look here, this kind of thing takes place in residential districts, at ordinary schools, at vocational technical schools, and in other public organizations. Therefore, this is not an evil that can be found only in the Army; it is to be found in our society. Let us all combine our efforts and begin to tackle this issue, beginning at kindergarten and the school level.

[Reporter] Yet this issue should be resolved without delay in the Army, because I know from the press that you have already received the committee of soldier's mothers. Several programs have been prepared based on the materials of investigations into deaths and injuries in the Army. What do you think are the most efficient measures that should be undertaken to improve the situation with discipline?

[Shaposhnikov] I think that everything should be done on a legal basis. We used to have a very popular practice when commanders were made accountable for some crisis or other. As a result of this, the commander managed to somehow localize the situation. He did not report the whole of the objective situation because it was he who was to be punished, so to speak, and so on. On the other hand, every person in our society is an individual. If a young man aged 18 has been called up for service in the Army, he has the same legal rights as anybody else, irrespective of whether or not he wears shoulder boards. He has the right to be protected and to be defended, but he has no right to violate the rights of any other individual. And if the person who is directly guilty is brought to book in accordance with all the strictness of Soviet laws, we will be able to rid our life of certain negative things.

Thus it occurs that, on the one hand, it is necessary to democratize our society and life in the Army; on the other hand, our laws should be directly applied to those who are guilty and who actually carry out these crimes. Another very important task is to close the ranks of the officers' collectives.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, I had a phone call from a strategic unit in Orenburg oblast where a dispute had broken out between young officers and their commander. There was an attempt to rehouse them from the hostel to different places. It is well known that an officers' fraternity does exist, though I think that it is not a case of small girls with bands in their hair. The accommodation issue is a complex one. I have not been there myself so it is difficult for me to judge, but I was astonished by another fact: the commander, without the knowledge of the young officers, opened their room and threw out their personal belongings. Do you think that such a behavior is correct?

[Shaposhnikov] No, of course not. It is deplorable. But we sometimes meet with the other side of such things when the commander tells a subordinate that such and

such a thing has to be done and the subordinate does not want to carry out the order. Well, then the commander must warn the person. We have one-man command in the Army. Yet a commander himself is not allowed to undertake any unlawful actions. We have quite a lot of shortcomings in the legal education of command personnel.

There are two aspects to this. First, there is the task of liquidating the aftermath of the black days of 19-21 August, because there are a lot of mutual claims among the officers. The idea here is the following: If someone feels that he has done wrong, one has done wrong, let him write a report and retire from the Army. On the other hand, it is necessary, without hesitation, to get rid of the backers—let us call them that—of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] and those who backed all the instructions of the SCSE.

There were cases when officers were harrassed for thinking differently. This took place in the period before the existence of the SCSE. Of course, in these cases we take an individual approach. If the person was harassed only for the sole fact of having his own opinion, then that person will be reinstated—and we are already reinstating such people. If the person has done some other ugly things and undertaken unlawful actions then, of course, the commander's order will remain in force. We have set up a commission to investigate such cases, and we will deal with every case in an individual manner.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, the whole of this coup took place in the region of the Moscow Ring Road, although its echo is now felt further away. It is known through phone calls and letters that there are many confrontational situations in the units. Do you have information about this?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes , of course. You see, the coup that took place on the Ring Road resulted in some of the initiators taking actions which, unfortunately, took place in some of our combat Army ranks. Some commanders started to hold meetings on their own initiative and said: Let us approve... They started to send telegrams in all directions: congratulations..., we approve...and so on. We certainly part ways with such initiators without hesitation. If we manage to find such people, we invite them in for a talk. We try to understand what made this person do such a thing, whether he just tried to click his heels before the top leadership or whether this was a matter of personal beliefs. What action we take depends on the circumstances of the case.

[Reporter] We are receiving letters with very harsh words. I would like to apologize beforehand if people would prefer nicer words. But, nevertheless, I think that all this is caused by the fact that people are very worried about all this. It is true that any state that respects itself, no matter how peace-loving it may be, must have a reliable and excellent Army, and it must be proud of it. Unfortunately, the situation in our country is somewhat different and the most worrying thing is the combat readiness of the Army, as well as everything else.

[Shaposhnikov] In the first place, yes, we are talking about the Army, its reliability, its capabilities, its closeness to the people. Here we must all obviously understand that the Army is strictly with the people. In the final analysis, it did not start shooting at the people. My mind has now been set at rest as far as the Army and this issue are concerned. This is the most important thing. If the Army is with the people, we will resolve these tasks.

As for the military-industrial complex, which is generally portrayed as a monster that forms part of the Defense Ministry's system, it is not like that at all. I do admit that it is oversized; reductions are indeed necessary. However, since I am responsible for this, I would not want to reduce everything at this precise stage to such an extent that I would have to put a bullet in my head should another 1941 subsequently arrive. That is why I do not deny that issues persist here; but they must be tackled in a comprehensive, even-handed manner based on common sense.

[Reporter] In a situation in which we do not have enough money for education, health services, and culture, people immediately say that money should be taken away from the Army. When I visit military units I am told that the Army has a lot of money. I do not know whether it is the case that people in the localities are parasites, nor do I want to offend all the rear units. I saw combat training and when I went into the tents, I simply did not see any bed linens. Letters from the Leningrad District arrive. There are training units there. They train airborne assault troops. The boys are poorly fed. Again, I do not know if the canteens are to blame or the soldiers who for a packet of cigarettes will give you a second helping. I do know, though, that the boys do not have undershirts, that they are not issued striped tee-shirts—is that romantic? These are, you know, individual cases, but they do present a general problem. Does the Army have enough money, or not?

[Shaposhnikov] All in all, we have a certain imbalance and there are three types of expenditures in the military budget. They—well, what do the main ones boil down to? The first is upkeep of the Army; the second is purchases of equipment and arms; and the third is scientific and research work, the so-called NIOKR [Scientific, Research, and Experimental Design Work]. So, I think that the second part of our budget, purchase of equipment and arms, is currently somewhat oversized. As for the upkeep of the Army, we are generally at a very low level relative to the armies of other progressive states. That is why, if we are talking of the military-industrial complex—and it is precisely this complex that has this second type of expenditure of this budget within its responsibility—it has to undergo some cuts, but to what extent will these be within the bounds of sensible sufficiency or within the bounds of what is sufficiently reasonable—well that is the way we shall act. As for scientific, research, and experimental design work, it

seems to me that there is no sense in making any special cuts here, because there are some areas where we lag behind our partners. There is the Stealth program, there is a program of high-precision weapons, and here we should not be second best as far as our partners are concerned.

[Reporter] We are left by ourselves, the Warsaw Pact has disintegrated.

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think that there is any need to create any sort of bloc at present. NATO is a sort of factor of stabilization in the world and, to some extent, on the continent of Europe, so that no Saddam Husseyn-type of aggressor appears. A reform of the Armed Forces is currently underway in our country. The main thing, of course, is our country's economy. I think that it is now necessary for us to find, as it were, an opportunity to conclude an agreement either with a bloc-type of system, or with the individual, strongest states for between 50 to 100 years, so that it is enough for us, our children, and our grandchildren.

[Reporter] Let me stop the tape for a moment to read from a letter from Valentin Stepanovich Kalinin. True, it was written prior to the well-known August events, but, nevertheless: the political departments attached to military units are a bulwark of the ideology of the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo members. Before the Army becomes completely demoralized, it is necessary to oust the party from it and to have it depoliticized. Only then will we acquire pure democracy and there is still hardly anyone who has the correct notion of it. It will still be a long time before the Army rids itself of democratic centralism, socialist democratism, and party democracy.

You can see how unexpectedly quickly Ivan Stepanovich Kalinin's dream has come true. He was also right to say that the removal of party ideology is a long process. The main thing is that a start has been made; and this is the subject of the continuation of the conversation with Marshal of Aviation Defense Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov.

[Shaposhnikov] Why did I do this? I did it because in multiparty conditions we could have many diverse parties, which would turn the Army into a focus for discord and tear it to pieces; but the Army must know nothing other than the interests of the fatherland, the constitution, and the military oath of allegiance. The tasks of our fatherland are interlinked with the interests of the state and fatherland. Therefore, there must not be any other policy in the Army.

I thought a lot when I became an officer. I was always angered by the view that the chief knew more than anybody else and was more capable than anybody else. I have known since childhood the meaning of work, problems, and even hunger. We had hunger in 1947, all the same, when my mother received 400 grams of bread a day, and nothing at all beyond that, and our eldest brother went off to the Suvorov Academy and the three of us were left to depend on her, and she gave out those 100 grams per person per day.

I found my father's grave on exercises near Kaliningrad in 1981. There is a communal grave there, with a stone bearing the names. All my life I have viewed a man's love of hard work and his conscientiousness as the most important thing, and I am very grateful to my mother, because in our family idleness was considered an evil, prison was seen as shameful, and lying and stealing were not viewed as the best elements, either. Therefore, respectable attitudes were impressed upon from those days. Of course, I was a long way from thoughts of the if-I-were-a-director variety, but since the situation now is such or, as you said, fate has placed such a lofty responsibility in my hands, I think we can resolve all our tasks.

As regards other qualities, such as initiative and creativity, I also keenly encourage them. I am not especially fond of talking about myself, but nevertheless, I can cite one example. When I was serving as air force commander in the Odessa Military District, the following occurred: A group of generals and officers took off to visit a garrison. On take-off, the pilot made an error and destroyed the aircraft's wheels. In this case the instructions require you to land the aircraft only with the undercarriage up and only onto unpaved land. It was a propellor-driven aircraft with a turboprop engine. The lower part of the propellor was touching the ground. When landing without the undercarriage this could have led to damage to the engine, to a crash, and a possible catastrophe. I then took the personal decision to land the aircraft on those broken wheels, taking all possible precautions, of course. What was significant was that when we discussed it, there were a great many advisers on what to do and how to do it. But when I announced my decision, because it was a breach of regulations—although my flying experience and all my knowledge showed that it could be done— all my advisers vanished and I was left alone at the controls to see the operation through to its end. Thus, I am not calling on anybody to break regulations, orders, and laws, but I simply want to say that in each situation, there is common sense, there is experience, and there is something higher than all orders, laws, written instructions, directives, and so on.

[Reporter] You have unexpectedly reached all the heights that can be reached in the military sphere. Do you think that you will manage to implement your plans in the time available and that an army will emerge here which is truly respected by the people?

[Shaposhnikov] That is a very difficult question. I shall do everything to ensure that that happens. At the same time, I understand how complicated it is, and sometimes even impossible. I have good support from both above and below, and I think we shall carry out a reform from above, but very many interesting proposals are coming from below. There is every reason to believe that my main plans will be put into practice during my period in office.

[Reporter] You have been giving very many interviews recently. I appreciate how hard it is to combine the jobs...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] But you still conduct them.

[Reporter] We try to. I know from experience that a person always has something left on his mind, he is not asked the question which he would like to answer. Amid this sea of questions, is there one which you have not been asked and you would like to answer?

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to address our officers and men, our public, and our soldiers' mothers. I would like everybody to understand me very clearly. I am prepared to understand everybody, but I should also like to ask them to understand and help me.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you have a law which says that a man who has served in the rank of colonel general up to the age of 60 must retire. I want to wish you health and to wish that you and those who think like you will be exempted from that law and will help to make our army a truly respected one.

[Shaposhnikov] Thank you. I want to wish all listeners good health and success in our difficult times and tasks, and if anybody has any serious, well-considered proposals to improve all our life, army life, our relations with society, please, they should write to us or you, and we shall tackle these tasks together.

On All-Union Defense Structure

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[Interview with Marshal Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, by N. Belan, place and date not given: "Army on the Threshold of Reforms: Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR Defense Minister, Answers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] [Belan] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, your assessment of the tragic events of 19-21 August is already known. What, in your view, should be done to ensure that the Army can never again be hostage to a political situation similar to that in August?

[Shaposhnikov] To achieve that it is necessary, first, to protect the Army from attempts to make it an arena of confrontation between different political parties and tendencies. The ultimate basis of military service is the USSR Constitution and service of the people and fatherland. As you know, the activity of the organizational structures of political parties in the Army has been ended and military-political organs have been abolished. We should have taken this natural step long ago with the abolition of Article 6 of the constitution. But we did not. Now life itself has demanded an immediate solution to this problem.

Second, it is necessary to free the Army from taking part in resolving tasks that are not its job, primarily those connected with the confrontation between sides in interethnic conflicts and with the maintenance of public order. That must be done in the form of legislation, and as soon as possible.

Third, the Army must be preserved as one of the attributes of the single system of a defense functioning over one-sixth of the earth's surface. The disorganization of the work of this most complex system and, even more so, its destruction could objectively become factors which acutely destabilize the political and socioeconomic situation in the country and indeed throughout the world. Of course, this system must be transformed in accordance with political realities, the processes of sovereignization, and the principles of collective security and defense, quality, and sufficiency. This, in my view, is the most important task today.

To sum up, I would stress that it is necessary immediately after the signing of the treaty on the Union to adopt a whole package of laws and legislative acts which rigorously, clearly, and precisely stipulate the use of the Armed Forces solely for defense against external aggression.

All this is fundamentally important and vitally necessary. Nevertheless, the main guarantee that no one will be able to turn the Army into the hostage of a situation with anti-people undertones, in my view, lies in profoundly democratizing military life, in humanizing and raising the standard of mutual relations in the Armed Forces, in establishing respect for the soldier and the officer as individuals, and in reviving military comradeliness, soldierly friendship, officer's honor and military honor generally.

The August events showed that the Army is no longer what it was five years ago. The democratization of military life renders criminal orders impossible. You will say: Nevertheless, suppose such an order is suddenly given. I think that in the overwhelming majority of cases it will not be obeyed. Nevertheless, it is important to enshrine this provision in law. Not only in the laws on defense, compulsory military duty and military service, and the status of the servicemen but also in the general military regulations there must, I believe, be a statute which says that nonfulfillment of a criminal, anti-people, and unconstitutional order absolves the serviceman from responsibilty.

[Belan] As I understand it, you favor the preservation of a single defense system, as it were, a single defense space, by analogy with its economic counterpart?

[Shaposhnikov] Undoubtedly. In my view such a system is not only vital, as is confirmed by long-standing experience, it is also optimal. Whichever aspect you take, you will find confirmation of that.

For example, the historical aspect: The peoples inhabiting our country have, since time immemorial, defended

their native land side by side. Or take the economic aspect. Technical equipment and support of the modern Armed Forces require a single economic space and the coordinated and rational use in common interests of the total scientific and production potential and resources. The transfer of the tasks of technical equipment and all types of support of the Army from the Union to the republic level and the disruption of the prevailing cooperation and the system of mutual links in the sphere of military production could undermine the economy once and for all.

What about the political aspect? The fragmentation of the Armed Forces and their splitting into national compartments threatens to turn interrepublic and interethnic contradictions into military confrontation. In addition, the dismemberment of the Armed Forces' nuclear component, if allowed to happen, could have unpredictable and, it cannot be ruled out, tragic consequences.

Let us take another aspect, the geostrategic. The character of external borders (land, sea, and air) and the varying density of the population in different parts of the country dictate the need for a nonterritorial [eksterritorialnyy] system of organization and staffing. And that is possible only in the framework of single Armed Forces.

And finally, the properly military aspect. The fulfillment of the tasks of Armed Forces' combat readiness, including their nuclear component, the training of troops and forces, and the organization of collaboration in repulsing aggression are possible only with single operational plans, a single system of combat readiness, single training programs, a single organizational-staff structure, and a single leadership.

[Belan] All this is true, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, but we can see how acute the questions of the fate of the Union, and, consequently, the Army are today. What will happen, for example, with the troops of the Baltic Military District with the recognition of the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia? What fate awaits the defense industry enterprises located there?

[Shaposhnikov] Naturally, the future of the Union, as of the Army, is directly linked with the civilized, humane, and legal development of the process of sovereignization and specifically the conclusion of the Union Treaty. As for the Baltic Military District troops, their future must clearly be resolved in the framework of interstate agreements concluded on the basis of equality, respect for state sovereignty, mutual understanding, and mutual interest in preserving the broad spectrum of vital links.

I think that the fundamental, long-term interests of the Baltic peoples, not the short-term ones, consist in ensuring the development of their sovereign states in a single economic space, an inalienable part of which is military production. If that is to happen, the agreements signed with the Baltic states must, in my view, contain clear provisions on the status of the presence of Soviet troops on their territory and mutual commitments toward one another. In precisely the same way the fate of defense industry enterprises must be settled on a legal, humane, and democratic basis. I think that the state structures created at the extraordinary Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies can find a constructive solution to this question.

[Belan] Nevertheless, there are demands that the troops be withdrawn from the Baltic region.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes. If they are confirmed then naturally we shall satisfy them, as I have already said, on the basis of interstate treaties. Treaties, clearly, must envisage an adequate contribution by the Baltic republics to the solution of problems connected with the redeployment and settlement of troops in other parts of the country. But we all hope that we will manage jointly, on the basis of mutual compromise, respect, and trust in one another, to find a mutually acceptable way to resolve the question. Objectively, the presence of the Armed Forces on the territory of the republics on the basis of interstate agreements is ultimately cheaper, more advantageous, and more reliable than for each republic to create and maintain its own army.

[Belan] In that case it is legitimate to ask: How do you see the prospects for the Armed Forces? What is the essence of the military reform which is being proposed?

[Shaposhnikov] The concept of the military reform in its final form will be elaborated by the Committee on the Preparation and Implementation of the Military Reform, which is being created under the USSR State Council. It will include specialists, scientists, and the authorized representatives of all the republics. Incidentally, we held a consultative interrepublic meeting 10-11 September where we set out our vision of the model of the single Armed Forces. There was a keen, frank, and constructive talk, various approaches to existing problems were discussed, and ways to resolve them were jointly outlined. It was agreed that such meetings will be continued.

After the new concept of the military reform is ratified by the corresponding legislative organs it will become the legal basis for the transformation of the defense system, including, of course, the Armed Forces. At the moment one can only speak of proposals, drafts, and positions. There are a lot of them. Many of them merit attention, deep analysis, and thorough study. That will be done in full by the committee that I mentioned. There is no doubt that everything of value will be taken into account, used, and integrated into the concept.

If I may mention one of the options which is being examined alongside the rest, this proposes the radical transformation of the existing military structures on the principles of the unity of the system of combat and mobilizational readiness, operational planning, methods of using the Armed Forces, the system of management, training, all kinds of back-up, the organization of everyday activity, and the overall tenor of military life. These principles must be observed regardless of the organization of the future Union—federal or confederal

with elements of a community (association). These proposals were reported to the country's president and all the top leaders of the republics have been informed about them. The USSR State Council approved them as a whole at its 6 September session.

It is proposed that the Defense Ministry become a civilian department subordinate to the president of the Union state—the supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces. In the sovereign republics, the Committee for Defense and Security will also be a civilian department whose leader will be appointed by the president of the republic by agreement with the Union defense minister.

It is proposed that the Union Defense Ministry will have a number of committees: military; defense policy; procurement of arms and military hardware and research and development; legal and social protection of servicemen and their families; recruitment and cadres; military infrastructure, and some others. The republic committees on defense and security may have similar structures, for instance, commissions. The republic military formations intended for the solution of internal tasks—a national or republic guard—must be based on those committees. In wartime these formations could be a reserve for the Armed Forces. Of course, the proposed structures of the Union and republic military departments and the titles of the committees and commissions are fairly hypothetical, preliminary. But they signify, as it were, zones of responsibility.

[Belan] Could you not describe these zones for some of the committees, the military one for example, at least in general outline?

[Shaposhnikov] The zone of responsibility of the military committee is the Armed Forces. It will include commanders of the branches of the Armed Forces, commanders of troops on the territory of sovereign republics, belonging to the Union or being associate members of it....

[Belan] Excuse me but you said: commanders of troops on the territory of sovereign republics. What will their powers be, by whom will they be appointed, to whom will they be subordinate?

[Shaposhnikov] The commander of troops on the territory of the republics is head of the contingent of the Union Armed Forces stationed in a sovereign state belonging to it. He is appointed by the Union president in agreement with the president or other top official of the republics and is directly subordinate to the commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

[Belan] Let us return to the Defense Ministry's Military Committee.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes. In accordance with the proposals, the Committee must be headed by the chief of the General Staff, who is also Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and member of the Defense Ministry collegium. The General Staff will be a working organ for the leadership of the Armed Forces. It will be freed from tasks and functions not proper to it and will concentrate on purely military matters.

[Belan] Who else will belong to the Defense Ministry collegium?

[Shaposhnikov] It is proposed that the members of the Defense Ministry collegium be leaders of its main committees as well as chairmen of the republic defense and security committees. The collegium chairman is the defense minister.

[Belan] The defense and security committees of the sovereign states which are either members or associate members of the Union will clearly also have collegial organs, will they not?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course. It is planned that in addition to the leaders of the commissions of the republic defense and security committee they will also include, as collegium members, the commanders of the contingent of the Armed Forces stationed on the territory of the republics.

In turn it is planned that the structure of the staff of the command of troops on the territory of a republic will have an authorized representative of the defense and security committee with a small working group.

Thus, if you have noticed, it is planned in fact that there will be a four-tier system monitoring all activity in the defense sphere. In addition, it not only fully fits into the mechanism for the realization of the the principles of sovereignty while ensuring collective security but is also highly effective.

[Belan] It follows from the model indicated by you that there will be no military districts, does it not?

[Shaposhnikov] There is a large area of work here. Each republic has its own characteristics and conditions. Russia is one thing, Tajikistan another. In the form in which military districts exist now, in my view, they do not fully meet the needs of the present day.

In accordance with the proposals, on the territory of each republic there will be, as I have already said, a contingent of the Armed Forces whose status will be defined by special agreement or treaty between the Union, in the form of the Defense Ministry, and the republic. In this document, based on the generally accepted norms of international law, there could be clearly formulated and enshrined mutual commitments. The commitment on the Armed Forces' part will be to protect and defend the external borders of the republic and the Union, not to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign republic, to coordinate with it the time and location of exercises, maneuvers and all troop movements, to observe environmental protection requirements, and so forth. The republics could assume a whole series of commitments relating to the socioeconomic and legal support of the conditions of the presence and functioning of the Armed

Forces' contingent on their territory. But once again, not every republic is able to do that.

[Belan] If each republic has its own national guard and, it is said, decisions are taken on alternative service at republic and union level, how will the Armed Forces be staffed?

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think that national or republic guard formations will be large in number. Maybe 2,000-3,000 men or so—depending on the size of the republic. It seems to me that the number of draftees going into alternative service will also be small. As in all civilized countries it will be rigorously regulated by law. First, alternative service will clearly be of longer duration that existing fixed-term military service, which it is planned to reduce to 18 months. Second, according to international experience it will be linked to the fulfillment of some specific work in places experiencing cadre problems.

Specifically, in hospitals, homes for the aged, even in mines or on construction sites, where the voluntary recruitment of workers is not guaranteed, and so forth.

[Belan] By what principle is it planned to staff the Armed Forces?

[Shaposhnikov] By the mixed principle, that is, a combination of volunteers and conscripts. In practice this will work roughly this way. A young man is drafted into active military service and for about six months learns a military specialty in a training subunit. As a rule, on the territory of his republic. After completing training he will be offered a contract for 3-5 years on approximately these terms: free food, clothing, housing, travel on vacation and back to the unit, plus a monthly monetary allowance. Say, 300-500 rubles.

If a soldier or sailor signs the contract he will serve where he is sent. That is, the nonterritorial principle of the functioning of the Armed Forces is preserved. It should be stressed that its implementation is an indispensable condition of preserving the single military-strategic space and ultimately of ensuring the effectiveness of the defense system with minimum expenditure of money and resources. After completing the first period of the contract it may be extended by five years, with an increase in pay, of course, and the corresponding supplements and benefits and housing for the family.

[Belan] What if a soldier or sailor does not want to sign the contract?

[Shaposhnikov] He will serve out the remaining year, but also where he is needed to ensure the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. Before retiring from active service into the reserve he will again be given an opportunity to sign a contract if he wishes.

Preliminary estimates show that in seven to nine years the number of soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers serving under contract will fully meet the Armed Forces' needs for such specialists.

[Belan] But, as I understand it, they are not needed in all posts in the Army and Navy, are they?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course not. We have quite a few posts where functional duties can be successfully learned and performed by fixed-term servicemen. They will continue to be recruited by the draft. The proportions here will be determined by the actual need to ensure combat readiness and the quality of troop training. It is interesting that tentative figures of current sociological research show that approximately 20-30 percent of soldiers and sailors questioned have already agreed to serve on a contract basis. And when young people see a living example before them, the number of those wishing to do the same will undoubtedly increase.

[Belan] But where is the money to implement these schemes to come from?

[Shaposhnikov] A complex and sensitive question. Initially the necessary resources are to be found primarily from the internal reorientation of the military budget; for example, by reducing spending on the procurement of arms and hardware and by channeling the resources thus saved into the upkeep of the Armed Forces. This question, I repeat, is the most complex and crucial one and needs well-considered approaches. Harm to defense and its potential cannot be allowed. There must be meticulous and comprehensive calculations. There must be a responsible and objective assessment of the level of the actual military danger and indicators of sufficiency equal to it. There must be resolute measures in the standardization and harmonization of equipment and arms, the introduction of economic methods in military production and research and development (scientific research and experimental design work), and in stepping up the thrift regime.

[Belan] I would like to hear your opinion on what seems a particular but very important matter—the question of drafting students: Public opinion here is mixed. Is our Army indeed not becoming exclusively worker- and peasant-based?

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think so. True democratization, the mixed principle of staffing the Armed Forces, and enhancing the prestige of military service will attract to their ranks representatives of all strata of the population. But this does not mean that we should slacken patriotic work among young people. We must show the need for and romantic appeal of military service and its significance for shaping and developing the personality and for the fate of the fatherland. Here, too, an enormous role is played by the press, the mass media.

[Belan] Including the military media?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course! This is a major force; all that is needed is to create the conditions for realizing its potential and bringing it into line with the realities of the present day and the democratic processes in society and the Army.

[Belan] Clearly you have your own view of the solution to this task.

[Shaposhnikov] I do. Its essence is this—it is to create in the Defense Ministry an effective system which ensures the prompt supply of information to the Union and republic state organs, the Soviet and foreign public, the press, television and radio on all questions of military policy, defense building, and the life and activity of the Armed Forces. Obviously this presupposes the kind of structure and quality of the organs of information which would ensure maximum glasnost, openness in military life, freed from ideological blinders the illustration of our problems and difficulties, and our merits and shortcomings.

I think that in the troops and fleets, beginning at the level of the regiment and ship right through to branches of the Armed Forces, there must be under commanders and commanding officers small but viable structures with the requisite professional training responsible for providing information to personnel and for communication with the public and the mass media. There must also be a single control center attached to the defense minister to coordinate the activity of the military mass media, military correspondents, and information organs working with the foreign press as well as the military structures responsible for providing information to personnel and communication with the public, as I have already said. Here, naturally, it is necessary to take into account changes in the organs of management of the defense system and in the Armed Forces in connection with decisions on reforming them. We have talked about this in detail. And of course, the fulfillment of the USSR Law on the press and republic legislative acts in this area must be ensured.

[Belan] One more question on the reform of the Armed Forces. The processes of departyization and the management of military-political organs will affect the fate of tens of thousands of political workers and aggravate the already acute social problems in the Army and the Navy. How is the Defense Ministry leadership thinking of resolving them?

[Shaposhnikov] First, political workers. The question of extending the service of each of them will be decided individually on the basis of the law and with the direct and active involvement of democratic institutions and the Army and Navy community. Those who have completed the statutory period of service will be discharged in the established manner, like other officers. But the majority will extend their service. In command posts, for example. We have a large shortage of commanders of platoons and companies and there are vacancies in staffs, too. In the Army new structures are being created in the system of the Main Directorate of Combat Training and Military and Moral-Psychological Education, where places will also be found for professionally trained officers of this type. For those who know how to work and want to serve work will be found in the new conditions.

[Belan] Many views on the Army and Army building are changing now. But the view based on the vital necessity of military service and the armed protection of the fatherland—is that changing?

[Shaposhnikov] In the foreseeable future I think not. On the contrary, it seems to me that the time has come to revive the view of military service as an honored duty for the civilian and to cleanse it of everything slanderous and alien and by joint efforts recreate the aspect of our Army that is worthy of its glorious history and lofty destination.

Baltic Affairs

Republics Discussing Economic Ties With USSR

LD2009102291 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, September 20 TASS—Prospects for economic and trade cooperation are the main topic of a meeting of representatives of the three breakaway Baltic states and other Soviet republics wishing to join a reformed union of sovereign states. The meeting which is under way in the capital of Estonia also discusses cooperation in communications, transport and finances.

Taking part in the meeting are representatives of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrghyzstan, Belorussia, Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Estonia, and also of Moscow, St. Petersburg and the Petersburg region. Delegations of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia and Moldova are headed by republicans' prime ministers.

Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar told reporters he hopes the meeting will solve the main problems and determine the procedure of payments between the republics.

Documents are expected to be signed today.

Sixth Consultative Meeting Opens in Tallinn

LD1909160691 Tc'llinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] This afternoon the sixth consultative meeting in Tallinn of prime ministers and government representatives opened at the Sakala Center. Represented at the prime ministerial level are Azerbaijan, Moldova, the Ukraine, and Estonia. Also represented are Belorussia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said at the opening of the meeting that the meetings in Tallinn will not end because of the changed situation. On the contrary, the content of the meeting may become even more useful to all sides. Principles of interrepublican economic relations must be elaborated, to be developed under the conditions of changing statehoods.

Estonia

Savisaar on Talks With St. Petersburg Officials

LD1909143291 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar held talks today with Aleksandr Belyayev, chairman of the St. Petersburg city soviet, and Yuriy Yarov, chairman of the oblast soviet. The talks were held behind closed doors, and the subject of the discussion was the economic border. A protocol was signed which temporarily regulates border related issues; temporarily because finally this will have to be laid down by a treaty between the Republic of Estonia and Russia. After the meeting both sides expressed their satisfaction with the results of the talks. Here is Edgar Savisaar.

[Begin recording] [Savisaar] We did not deal with the issue of the state border today. It does not fall within the competence of this conference because this is an issue for the talks between Russia—to be more precise, the USSR and the Republic of Estonia Governments. We dealt with the issue of how, within the framework of existing administrative divisions, one is to carry out checks both on transporting goods and on people's movements. In this respect we reached certain agreements, also in respect of organizing joint control. [end recording] Andrus Oovel, director general of the border guard department: cooperation in principle is being aimed at; what next in more specific terms?

[Oovel] At today's conference there was indeed an agreement with the representatives of St. Petersburg oblast, to the effect that by 25 September working groups will be set up which by 1 October must present their proposals on a border crossing regime. We also agreed that the joint establishment of border checkpoints may be considered.

Border Review 'Inadmissible'

OW1909165491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Vorozheikin, a leader of the Leningrad regional council's executive committee, told BF [BALTFAX] that at a meeting in the Estonian town of Narva-Joesuu on the Russian-Estonian border September 18 Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, Chairman of the St. Petersburg city council Aleksandr Beliayev and head of the Leningrad regional council Yuriy Yarov did not discuss the "territorial" issue. However, in the words of Mr. Vorozheikin, it was pointed out at the meeting that Estonia and the Russian Federation will soon sign an agreement on the borders.

As is known, in 1945 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ruled to annex part of the territory belonging to Estonia until 1940 to the Russian Federation's Leningrad and Pskov regions. On September 12 the Presidium of the Estonian parliament canceled its resolution approving the 1945 annexation. The Estonian radicals demand the return of the annexed lands to Estonia. However, Tallinn has not yet made any official statements on the issue.

According to Mr. Vorozheikin who attended the meeting, Mr. Yarov informed Mr. Savisaar about the

increased tension in the Leningrad region's areas adjacent to Estonia following the September 12 decision of the Estonian parliament's Presidium.

Mr. Vorozheikin emphasized that the Leningrad regional council and local authorities of the Leningrad region's areas adjacent to Estonia believe "the review of the borders between the Russian Federation and Estonia is inadmissible".

Savisaar, Azerbaijan Sign Cooperation Agreements

OW1909141291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and his Azerbaijani counterpart Gasan Gasanov signed an agreement on economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the two republics in Tallinn September 18. In the near future the ministers of material resources of Azerbaijan and Estonia will sign a protocol of the implementation of concrete accords between the two republics.

Earlier today Mr. Savisaar met with Belorussian Premier Vladimir Zalomai who had arrived in Tallinn to attend a conference of leaders and representatives of the republics' governments which opened Thursday. During the meeting Mr. Savisaar and Mr. Zalomai discussed prospects for relationship between Belorussia and Estonia.

Parliament Postpones Citizenship Ruling

LD1909180991 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 19 TASS—The Estonian parliament today postponed passing a bill on republican citizenship.

The decision followed incompatible differences between extreme groups. National radicals insist on resuming the effect of the 1938 law on citizenship and all norms for naturalisation of immigrants, envisaged by it. They believe that those, who settled in the republic after the war, should be considered immigrants.

Supporters of the "zero option" believe that the law should have no retroactive force and those living in the republic at the moment the parliament passes the law, should become citizens of the republic.

The bill prepared by the parliamentary commission for citizenship, seems to meet the demands of the two sides. The rights of former citizens will be automatically restored, and the rest of the permanent population will have priority in receiving citizenship.

But tensions are running high in the republic. Every day, national radicals picket the republican parliament. They consider enemies of the Estonian people all those searching for a compromise.

Lack of USSR Grain Shipments Noted

LD1909182291 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Interview with Mati Allas, director general of the Estonian cereal department, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic used to receive fairly large quantities of grain both as fodder and food from the Union. How are things now in Estonia?

[Allas] [passage omitted] The Union owes us quite a large quantity of grain.

[Correspondent] Will they continue to owe this or what?

[Allas] The republican government has taken all steps to this end. A document was drawn up and signed in Moscow on 12 September that charges the present USSR operational administration commission with the task of supplying Estonia with everything, including cereals, owed according to this year's agreement.

[Correspondent] Who has signed this mighty paper?

[Allas] Silayev for the USSR side. [passage omitted] We are talking of quite a large quantity here: 250,000 tons of grain by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Self-Defense Training To Begin 1 Oct

OW1909114991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The training of former Soviet Army officers living in Estonia and wishing to serve in the Estonian self-defence force begins on October 1. This has been reported to BF by the head of the Home and Border Defence Department Andrus Oovel. At least 20 people from each of the country's 15 regions are expected to turn up. After the course the officers will train privates of the self- defence force and form a public security reserve to be mobilized in cases of mass unrest, calamities etc.

The Estonian parliament decided to form the force at the beginning of the month. According to Oovel, to date there are very few people willing to join the public security reserve.

Latvia

Shaposhnikov Visits Baltic Military District

LD1909152591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—A TASS correspondent was informed at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Defense that on 18 September Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense and marshal of aviation, visited the troops of the Baltic Military District. He met with officers of the units, spoke to them about military reforms and the profound changes in the country's armed forces, and replied to numerous questions.

During the course of the visit a meeting took place between Shaposhnikov and the leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Latvian Republic. Questions connected with the stay of the Soviet troops on the territory of the republic were discussed. The conversation took place in an atmosphere of constructive dialogue, frankness, and mutual understanding.

Citizenship Question Key to Politics

OW1909224291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A key political issue in Latvia now is the problem of its citizenship. This is the view expressed by Mr Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the republic's parliament, in an interview to a "Baltfax" [BF] correspondent.

In his words, two diametrically opposed points of view exist in the republican parliament, with some deputies proposing that the status of citizenship of the 1940 republic be reinstituted, while others believe that all people now living in Latvia may become its citizens.

In the opinion of Mr Ivans, "neither of these points of view is acceptable". He thinks that, on the one hand, the status of citizenship of the 1940 Republic of Latvia should indeed be reinstituted (this will affect 1.7m residents of Latvia.—BF), but on the other hand, Latvian citizenship should also be granted to those of its residents who voted for the independence of Latvia on March 3, 1991, and who are prepared to become Latvian citizens immediately.

Mr Ivans also said he was in favour of giving all the necessary social guarantees to those who will retain Soviet citizenship and continue to live in Latvia without acquiring Latvian citizenship.

These people, however, Mr Ivans went on, should be relieved of certain of the rights and responsibilities of Latvian citizens, such as service in the armed service and police, and taking part in the election of republican authorities.

Mr Ivans also pointed out that the issue of persons who, due to patriotic or other considerations, choose to emigrate to Russia or some other republic will be addressed during talks between the countries concerned, where the amount of compensations needed to resettle in a new place will be fixed.

Prosecutor: Inquiry Into Nationalist's Remarks

OW1909165291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Prosecutor General Janis Skrastins has asked the Public Prosecutor of Riga Vilis Rose to give a judicial evaluation to an interview of Visvaldis Lacis, leader of the Movement for Latvia's National Independence (MLNI, a radical nationalist party—BF [BALTFAX]) published in the newspaper "SM-today" on September 11. Mr. Lacis said in the interview that ethnic Russians living in Latvia are "not even the second-class citizens, they are not citizens at all, they are nobody."

The Public Prosecutor of Riga will have to determine whether Lacis's statement comes under an article of the penal code on responsibility for stirring up ethnic animosity.

Mirdza Vitola, deputy chairman of the MLNI, told the newspaper "Diena" that Lacis's interview will be discussed at a meeting of the Movement's Council scheduled for Saturday. In the opinion of Mr. Vitola, the MLNI should make clear it does not support Lacis.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Seeks Good Relations With USSR

LD2009084891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] This evening [19 September], after a meeting with the New York Lithuanians at the Brooklyn cultural center, Vytautas Landsbergis and his delegation left for home. The return journey is via Warsaw.

Speaking at a news conference at the UN headquarters, Vytautas Landsbergis reaffirmed that Lithuania wants good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. The issue of the Soviet Army will be solved soon, according to the Lithuanian parliament chairman, and other matters should raise no problems. We hope, said Vytautas Landsbergis, that economic relations with the Soviet Union will be based on mutual benefit and will not be used for political pressure. The leader of the Lithuanian parliament admitted at the news conference in New York that Lithuania is considering submitting various

reparation and other claims to the Soviet Union, since the latter owes Lithuania a great deal.

Landsbergis Rejects USSR Army Housing Proposal

PM2009083191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Report from roundup of press agency and correspondent reports: "Lithuania Will Not Construct Apartments for Military"]

[Text] V. Landsbergis, head of the Lithuanian parliament, called "unacceptable" the proposal to the Baltic states that they construct apartments in the USSR for the servicemen who will be withdrawn from the territory of these states. This proposal was put to him by telephone by USSR Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov. He motivated it by the fact that in the Soviet Union there are many problems connected with the billeting of servicemen. That is why if Lithuania wants the withdrawal of troops from its territory to be implemented more rapidly, it must construct housing. But in Landsbergis' opinion the example of the Germans, who are constructing housing for Soviet servicemen, is of a completely different nature. "Germany, having unleashed World War II, attacked the Soviet Union. But the Baltic states themselves were the victims of Soviet aggression and the presence of USSR troops on their territory has no legal justification," he stated at a 16 September news conference.

Soviet Commander on Troop Pullout

LD2009084791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] As to the number of Soviet troops deployed in Lithuania, no exact figures have been officially given either by Lithuania or by the Soviet Union. According to THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, there are about 18,000 Soviet servicemen in Lithuania, but some Lithuanian officials believe that the figure is 80,000.

A high-ranking Soviet military official has stated that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania will take at least five to seven years and will require 2 billion rubles. Lieutenant General Podkolozin, commander of the airborne troops, said at in interview to the Moscow IZVESTIYA newspaper that the troops must be pulled out in civilized manner, especially since it is not clear where they are to be transferred—to Russia, the Ukraine, or Belorussia.

As is known, the Lithuanian leadership demands that the withdrawal of troops be started immediately and concluded as soon as possible. It is also proposed that the so-called interior troops and the paratroopers be the first to be pulled out. Lt. Gen. Podkolozin points out that the paratrooper regiments stationed in Jonava and Kaunas can be withdrawn no earlier than 1994 after the pullout of Soviet troops from Poland and Germany.

Landsbergis Comments on Polish Minority Issue

LD1909184391 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Sep 91

[No video available]

[Text] Leaders of the Baltic states held a meeting at the Polish Consulate in New York following acceptance into the UN ranks of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis expressed hope that Polish-Lithuanian relations will improve. He also spoke about difficulties.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Who will represent the interests of the Polish minority following the liquidation of the self-governing councils in Vilnius and (?other locations)?

[Landsbergis] There are parish councils; there are Polish organizations that represent various matters and issues and represent the Polish minority. If anyone thinks that a certain layer of people of the old nomenklatura are these representatives of the Poles, then I have a lot of doubt. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] Is there a chance for reconstruction of these Polish councils?

[Landsbergis] There will be elections, and the councils will function. We hope that they will not elect the same Bolsheviks.

[Reporter] That's for sure. But what about the six months until the elections? Who will represent the interests of Poles in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] I said already. Why is this record going on? [as heard]

[Reporter] Regarding the declarations of loyalty to the Lithuanian state, the declarations that also caused doubts among Poles, the issue of the formula of how names are recorded—will this change?

[Landsbergis] Regarding the names, this matter has been sorted out a long time ago, and I do not understand why they are raising it again. Regarding the declarations, they apply to everyone, not just the Poles. I don't understand why this is being highlighted as being thought out for the Poles only.

[Reporter] When are you likely to meet President Walesa?

[Landsbergis] This depends on both sides.

[Reporter] You said at the United Nations you were building a democratic state with freedoms for everyone. Even if the representatives of the Polish minority are—in part or as a whole—the communist nomenklatura, will they have such rights, too, even if they do not agree ideologically with the new Lithuanian state?

[Landsbergis] Of course; except there are laws and certain constitutional limitations that apply to all, and those who exceed them are (?putting themselves on the spot).

[Reporter] How about higher Polish schools, with Polish language? Will Lithuania agree to this?

[Landsbergis] Various schools may exist, including higher ones, on the principle of private schools. [end recording]

No Agreement on Ethnic Areas

OW1909170191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting in Vilnius September 18 Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Bronius Kuzmickas and representatives of the Polish Diet [as received] failed to reach an agreement on setting up autonomous regions for ethnic Poles living in Lithuania. The proposal was made by the Polish side. It was noted at the meeting that the Polish public opinion is deeply concerned over the recent events in the "Polish" regions of the republic—the Vilnius and Salcininkai regions - the councils of which were dissolved by the Lithuanian parliament on charges of supporting the Emergency Committee and ignoring Lithuania's laws. Vilnius then established direct rule over the two regions by sending there its appointees. The population of the regions has repeatedly expressed protest against these moves.

Senator Klopotovsky, head of the Polish delegation at the meeting, pointed out that without creating administrative units in Lithuania's regions with predominantly Polish population "it would be hard to preserve good relations between Lithuania and Poland".

Germany Agrees To Provide Agricultural Equipment

LD1909183291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Germany is prepared to supply agricultural equipment to Lithuania and to participate in the agrarian reform. This was agreed today between German Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle and Lithuanian Prime Minister Gedimanas Vagnorius, who arrived on an official visit. [passage omitted]

Problems with reorganizing the collective farms into private agricultural enterprises were discussed. It was agreed that realization of the equipment supply program and exchange of agricultural specialists will start in the next few days. Bilateral cooperation and prospects for agricultural production were also discussed at the meeting between German Bundestag leader Rita Suessmuth and the Lithuanian government leader. The official statement issued by the parliament press service says that Germany has confirmed the previous agreement to admit 100 Lithuanian agricultural specialists and several managers to study in Germany.

New Head of KGB Liquidation Commission Named

OW1909142291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] S. Orlov, new chairman of the commission on liquidation of the USSR KGB in Lithuania and first deputy chief of the USSR KGB's department on combat against organized crime, arrived in Vilnius September 17. General I. Fedoseyev, former chairman of the commission, has been recalled to Moscow.

The Lithuanian press reports that the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office provided the KGB with evidence that General Fedoseyev had been involved in the January 13 tragic events in Vilnius when an assault on the TV center by the military left several civilians dead.

Investigator: Military 'Committed' Murders

OW1909142491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Algimantas Astaska, chief investigator of the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office, told the Lithuanian weekly "Gimtasis Krastas" that the investigation into the murder of 7 policemen and border guards at the Medininkai customs post on the border with Byelorussia on July 31 decided in favor of the version that "the crime was committed by the military." "For the present I can't say exactly whether it was the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], internal troops or the KGB, but the logic and collected evidence point to the military", he noted.

Mr. Astaska for the first time officially confirmed that there are several witnesses of the attack on the customs post apart from Tomas Sernas, believed to be the only witness. Sernas who was heavily wounded in the head during the attack, after a period of treatment already testifies before investigators. Mr. Astaska said that at this point it is necessary to find out which of the plants manufactured the bullets later used for the killings and which of the military units received them. In this connection, Mr. Astaska expressed hope that the Soviet law enforcement bodies will help the investigation.

Banks Authorized To Freeze Party Accounts

LD1909122891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] By the decision of the government the Lithuanian banks and other banks of the republic were authorized to freeze the accounts of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Democratic Labor Party, the Union of Communist Youth, and the Lithuanian Youth Forum, and other institutions under their jurisdiction. The decision does not concern the assignments from the budget in favor of the Democratic Labor Party granted by a government decision some time earlier.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin's Condition Updated; Deputies Speculate

Daughter Says President at Dacha

PM1909164591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "On Health Grounds Boris Yeltsin Did Not Take Part in the Session"]

[Text] When yesterday's IZVESTIYA was signed to press, a report was received that Boris Yeltsin had left for work at 0800 hours on Wednesday 18 September, but an hour later was forced to go home because of heart trouble [yemu stalo plokho s serdtsem]. The attending physician recommended that Boris Nikolayevich refrain from his duties as Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president on 19 September, too, and take some rest.

For information on Yeltsin's health, we telephoned his office. The man we spoke to replied that he could not give any information on the president's health and that only Pavel Voshchanov, the president's press aide, knew anything about it. After it was suggested that members of Boris Yeltsin's family might also know something, we rang the Russian leader's home. The president's daughter, Tatyana, said that her father was at his dacha out of town and "is not feeling too bad [chuvstvuyet sebya nichego]." He has had a cardiogram and by all accounts it can hardly be said that anything serious has happened.

It is hard to say when Boris Yeltsin will be back at work but, according to the family's information, he is already planning a business trip. According to Pavel Voshchanov's information, the RSFSR president intends to fly to Nagorno-Karabakh on 20 September and before that to take part in a TV program with Vladimir Pozner. As Pavel Voshchanov asserts, there are presently no grounds for supposing that the president will not fulfill these plans.

'Illness' Seen as 'Tactical Move'

LD1909151591 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee for humanitarian issues, believes Yeltsin's illness is a kind of a political move. "Many legislators regard the absence of Boris Nikolayevich at the session as an attempt to avoid open confrontation with the parliament. He would have to answer some unpleasant questions about his decrees," he said. According to Lisin, many deputies believe some of the president's decrees "run counter to the previous laws and even the Russian Constitution."

Boris Yeltsin will be out of work for a day or two, Vasiliy Kazakov, Russian people's deputy and chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, told TASS. As an experienced politician, he did not talk much about the president's health.

In the opinion of the cautious Vasiliy Kazakov, the report made at the session by Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Lobov does not mean that he will be appointed chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers. Lisin is of a different opinion. "Lobov and Yeltsin are o'd friends. They worked together in Sverdlovsk. When the Russian Government was being formed and Lobov was nominated first deputy prime minister, it was clear already that Silayev is a transitional figure. The transition period seems to be over, and the president now intends to appoint the man with whom he can move further. Other candidates may also be nominated, but it will be a distracting maneuver," he said.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Transcaucasia Trip Postponed

Brady Conference Cancelled

OW1909121391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to sources in the Russian parliament, the meeting between President Yeltsin and the U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady has been cancelled. On Wednesday the Russian leader felt sick and stayed at home.

According to well-informed sources, Yeltsin's departure for Transcaucasia is postponed till Friday. During the visit he intends to discuss the possibilities of a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. He is expected to act in close contact with the Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Doctors Do Not Recommend Visit

LD2009050791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan, should arrive in Baku today. Meetings with the Azerbaijani leadership are planned, and they should begin a dialogue with the Armenian leaders on Sunday.

However, as the Russian Information Agency reports, doctors do not recommend that Boris Yelstin go to the Caucausus on the grounds of his health.

Sources Confirm Itinerary

OW2009114791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sources close to Russian President Boris Yeltsin have confirmed that he intends to leave for the Caucasus at 19:00 on Friday.

Friday evening B. Yeltsin is to arrive in Baku.

On Saturday at 9:00 he is to start talks with Azeri leaders.

At 12:30 he is to fly to Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh's administrative center.

Between 14:00 and 18:00 he is to meet with the leaders and residents of Nagorno-Karabakh and visit the city of Shusha.

At 18:00 he is to fly to Yerevan.

On Sunday between 10:00 and 14:00 he will be conferring with Armenian officials. According to plans, subsequently B. Yeltsin will return to Moscow.

However B. Yeltsin's aides have pointed out that the schedule of his trip might be amended.

Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev will fly to the Caucasus together with B. Yeltsin. They will be accompanied by USSR Defence Minister Evgeniy Shaposhnikov or his deputy Pavel Grachev, or both. In Baku the delegation will be met by USSR Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov.

Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Continues 20 Sep

Morning Assembly Summarized

LD1909134591

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 19 September broadcasts an 8-minute report by station correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on the morning session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet held in Moscow.

Ruvinskiy reports on what happened in the two-hour-long session which "has just ended." Regarding the number of legislative acts to be dealt with, he states that there were 60. Moreover, all in all 150 were proposed. Approximately 70 have preliminarily been approved for the current session. These legislative acts will have to be decided tomorrow; today they decided to approve individual ones for the agenda.

Ruvinskiy says there were many speeches on one and the same subject. For example, the deputies demanded priority treatment for the situation which has presently taken shape in the mutual relations between the Moscow City Soviet and the Moscow mayoralty on the agenda.

Ruvinskiy adds that the conflict surrounding the appointment of the head of the Internal Affairs Department that has lasted several months now sets a bad example for other cities and oblasts where the structure of authority is similar. The deputies are therefore demanding that the Supreme Soviet should somehow end this conflict. "Well, a speech was expected today by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Unfortunately he did not attend the morning session. Russlan Imranovich Khasbulatov reported that the president was not feeling well yesterday. In general there is nothing serious or threatening to his health. Tomorrow he will set about work. Today it was decided to let him take a rest, and that he should not speak at the opening session, although that was planned," Ruvinskiy says.

Khasbulatov made a short report to this effect at the opening of the session. He said that the Russian Federation and the republics must be prepared for variants of independence since the collapse of the Union may continue. One must be prepared for such conditions so as not to be economically dependent on anyone. This is probably quite right. A whole series of draft laws are being proposed at the session which will promote greater independence for the republics, Ruvinskiy says. "The speech by Deputy Ion Andronov gained a great response. He drew attention to the situation in Afghanistan—in particular, the situation regarding prisoners who continue to remain in Afghanistan, Soviet POWs. It was also decided to make this one of the priority issues at the current session, although this was not envisaged by the proposed work procedures," he adds. Ruvinskiy says that besides RSFSR people's deputies and USSR people's deputies, very many well-known people are taking part in this session. "A report was heard on the social and economic situation in the Russian Federation. This report was given by Oleg Lobov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. That report was perceived ambiguously in the auditorium. Many deputies made speeches. There were no discussions. There were questions to the speaker, which is regarded as somewhat traditional. Extremely important measures were listed. There are many of these measures which must be adopted in the very near future in order to somehow correct the situation in the Russian Federation. Lobov's report lasted half an hour. I think that Lobov only managed to list those measures, without making a sufficiently in-depth analysis, which all the deputies were expecting at the present time. I believe that it evoked disappointment in many of them," Ruvinskiy says. Ruvinskiy goes on: "If one is to talk about production, foodstuffs production, for example, the gross output decreased by 10 billion rubles this year. The republics are being provided with 90-92 percent of last year's fodder for the forthcoming wintering of cattle. Naturally these are complicated problems which have to be resolved now. Some measures are being proposed to correct the situation. A new structure will be introduced into the economy, although perhaps not as quickly as many deputies would like.

"The reserves of fuel were also discussed. Examples were cited in the report. Preparations for winter are already being dealt with. You must understand that the situation is an alarming one. The main thing is that the population's standard of living is falling. If one takes all the data

together, then in spite of the fact that wages are on the whole growing from republic to republic and around the country, the standard of living is dropping quite substantially." Ruvinskiy concludes that the new legislative acts must put an end to this tendency.

'Extremely Stormy Atmosphere'

LD1909122191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—It looks as if the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic [RSFSR] which started today will take place in an extremely stormy atmosphere. This is due both to the issues submitted for discussion and to the attitude of the deputies to certain steps taken by the Russian authorities. A package of draft laws will be examined relating to the conduct of economic reform. The deputies are to hear a report on the state of the budget and on forecasts regarding its implementation which will most probably evoke a number of disputes, considering the catastrophic situation in the country's economy. At the session, which is to last approximately four months, the deputies are to approve approximately 30 draft laws—the purpose of which is to ensure the swiftest possible transition to a market system. All in all approximately 100 legislative acts will be discussed at the session. The deputies will also have to resolve the issue of the method of forming the membership of the future Union parliament and discuss the draft of the new Russian constitution.

After the defeat of the August coup the position of the democrats in the Russian parliament, as well as throughout the country, were substantially strengthened, and there is no question of a confrontation such as took place in the past between two equal blocs—the democrats and the communists. However, to all appearances, many deputies from the democratic camp intend to make a protest at the session against the tendency of executive power patently to predominate over the legislative power. This has been manifest of late on the part of RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and his apparatus. This preponderance is increasingly growing as the president's apparatus gets bigger. Particular discontent has been evoked by the president's last decree, No. 112, which invested the government of the republic with the right to determine, independently, without the approval of parliament, the order in which decisions are dealt with, decisions the fulfillment of which is binding on the territory of Russia. Moreover, it is pointed out that the most important issues will be decided by the Council of Ministers together with the president. Thus, the provision of the Russian economy with legislation will be implemented by the president's office and formulated in presidential decrees, and parliament will remain on the sidelines.

Some observers believe that at the present session there may be "an uprising" of the corps of deputies against "the despotism of the president's power". Viktor Sheynis, RSFSR people's deputy and member of the Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission, believes that "there is no need to panic." However, he told a TASS correspondent that "a truly serious problem has arisen, though it is a soluble one." In his opinion, the situation during and after the days in August required a very energetic intervention on the part of the executive power; "urgent decrees were needed, but not all of them were legally correct." According to him, the decree of the RSFSR Council of Ministers is "slightly overdone" as are the decrees on the basis of which the administration of Moscow operates. There is "overdoing" in the scale of expanding the president's apparatus.

Viktor Sheynis believes that this problem needs to be tackled "on the basis of returning to the executive power all its prerogatives." According to him, this problem was discussed at a meeting of representatives of parliamentary groupings yesterday, and probably it will be included in the session's agenda. One of the main tasks at the present stage is to strengthen the executive power and to enhance its role and authority, he says.

Besides the examination of urgent social and economic measures to halt the decline in the people's standard of living, the reorganization of the Supreme Soviet will be the most important subject of discussion at the session. This should not be on the lines of the reorganization of the USSR Supreme Soviet, where the role of the parliament is downgraded; on the contrary, it should be a reorganization which would enhance the role of Russia's parliament, Viktor Sheynis added.

Khasbulatov Opens Parliament

LD1909212691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1750 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Address by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 19 September; from the "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Good morning, esteemed deputies. We have come together after a long interval. I hope you have all missed your fruitful work. I would like to tell you something immediately: You can see from the agenda, and the documents have been circulated to you, that Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was supposed to make a speech, but he became slightly indisposed yesterday. He had a bit of heart trouble. I was there in the evening. He is feeling normal. He was even planning to go out this morning, but the doctors asked him to spend the day in bed, especially since, as you know, the the two presidents—ours and the president of Kazakhstan—have agreed to get involved in attempts—or rather, perhaps the last, historic attempt—to reconcile

the two Transcaucasian republics. Therefore, considering this, too, the doctors asked him not to go to work today. I want to reassure you, because yesterday the news spread quickly that he had fallen ill and was taken to the hospital. A large number of journalists rushed to question the president's staff and me, and there were telephone calls from anxious deputies. I want to tell you that that is the position. We are often ill, aren't we, with the exception of your chairman?

Bearing in mind that there isn't going to be a speech from the president now, I would like to take literally a few minutes—five or six minutes—of your time before we begin the session.

First, regarding the nature of our session: Obviously, it will also be a marathon, difficult session. There is also the congress, which will come right in the middle of our congress, and we must prepare for it thoroughly, especially with regard to rotating deputies. Moreover, I think you are all perfectly well aware that the general situation here has obviously improved since the coup and somehow gives us the opportunity to work more fruitfully. However, do not forget that there is also the internal aspect of that coup, and it has complicated very seriously both the economic and the political situation in the country and in the Russian Federation. Above all, the problem of preserving the Union has fallen, to a large extent, on our shoulders. We saw this during those alarming days, as you all know full well. We participated ourselves and did and are doing everything possible to preserve some kind of foundation and some form of ties at Union level. However, here, too, we must not fall victim to illusions and overlook intensification of the Union's disintegration.

Consequently, we must be prepared for the option of standing on our own feet. What do I mean by being prepared? I mean, above all, not allowing further deterioration of people's living standards. Therefore, we must accelerate economic reform; pursue competently the policy of privatization and modernization, including the defense industries; and set up treaty-based relations with other republics, and treaty-based relations which actually work. The treaties we have ratified at government level, about which you know, have, to a large extent, ended up devoid of content because they have not been backed up by any obligations and are, in many respects, not being executed.

We must intensify foreign economic relations. This is also a most difficult problem. Our economy is not at all receptive to foreign investment, although foreign entrepreneurs are ready to invest. However, have we done everything to create a favorable climate for investment? Do those who are directly handling this task know what a favorable climate for investment actually is or what it consists of? Obviously, the Supreme Soviet and our committees and commissions must pay great attention to this. Evidently, several committees and a large number of qualified deputies will have to deal with these issues—I mean, the actual structure of the Supreme Soviet.

Another problem we have is the sphere of relations within the Federation. This is a very painful problem. Here, it now seems that the high point of the crisis has been overcome. The republics of Russia are stating their adherence to the principle of unity and indivisibility which we have defended quite consistently here at the Supreme Soviet, and this must be consolidated.

The work on the draft of the new Constitution has now been somewhat intensified, and I must inform you:

First, that at the last session, two days ago, the members of the Constitution commission who were present displayed the sort of unity that I had never seen before in the past 18 months;

Second, that virtually all the speakers adopted a very constructive approach.

I must pay tribute to the working group headed by Deputy Rumyantsev. It has worked it out fundamentally, worked it out in a good direction, giving it the opportunity to be passed quite successfully.

I would like to touch on something else, too, an acute and delicate problem which is worrying many deputies and which is being interpreted in a rather superficial way by the press: the question of relations between the parliament, the president, and the government. Various groups of deputies, individually and together, are attempting to express this in some way, and I understand that they are interested in ensuring that the Supreme Soviet authority should increase and should not decline. They are expressing the fear that, within these structures of power, there may be taking place a sharp rise in the presidential structures, the presidential branch of power, and a decline in the power of our parliament, the importance of parliament, the importance of deputies.

I can tell you my own view, frankly, as I am accustomed to do: I think these are groundless fears. Let me recall that the president's activity practically began during our vacation. One can hardly demand that he go away on vacation and not adopt any decrees over 2 and ½ months. You must agree. Although I agree that these decrees—well, some of them, to be more precise, not all of them—could have been of a higher quality from a constitutional and juridical view. However, who says that beginning a major undertaking is not a difficult, contradictory, and complicated affair? The Presidency is a most complicated institution of state power and administration, and we are all called upon to improve this institution, to improve it.

The Supreme Soviet must cooperate more closely with presidential authority. The fact that deputies and deputies' groups and party and public organizations draw attention to this certainly gives us grounds for believing that we will manage to hone the necessary forms of

cooperation. It is my profound conviction that, under precisely such circumstances, the role of deputies and of the Supreme Soviet should grow and not diminish.

Lobov Views Economic Prospects

LD1909223591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Address by Oleg Ivanovich Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 19 September; from the "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! Esteemed presidium! On behalf of the Russian Government, allow me to report on the socioeconomic situation. Reports on the results of eight months of work and Ruslan Imranovich's introductory speech make the task of my speech easier. The results of the Russian Federation's social and economic development over the year so far show that, despite the measures taken, it has not yet been possible to stabilize the economic situation. Industrial and agricultural production volumes continue to fall. The national income is dropping. The situation on the consumer market is becoming more difficult. Inflation is rising. Food production is reduced in the majority of Russia's regions. Areas of the extreme north and major industrial centers are not receiving food. We focus on gathering the harvest in this situation.

The tempo of the autumn field work is higher than in previous years: 85 percent of grain crops have been harvested; 5 million hectares, or 1.5 times more than last year's level, have been sown with winter crops; twice as much land has been plowed for spring sowing; more potatoes and fruit have been harvested; the gross yield of grain is 86 million tonnes, and 95-96 million tonnes is expected for the year, the level of the average annual harvest over the last ten years. However, state resources have received only 18 million tonnes, whereas the average annual purchase over the last ten years has been 35 million. According to a forecast of the year's results, the gross production of agriculture will be reduced by approximately 10,000 billion rubles [R] in comparative prices. This is more than 4 percent lower than the level in 1990. The reduction in production volumes as compared to the average annual level of the last five-year period is estimated for sugar beet at 15 percent, for oil-yielding crops at 13 percent, and for vegetables at 10 percent. Public stock-raising during the winter of 1991-1992 will be supplied with coarse and succulent fodders at an average of 90-92 percent. The government is looking for ways to solve the problem of grain and fodder shortages.

A minimum of 20 million tonnes of grain and 4-5 million tonnes of oil-seed meal and soya need to be imported. The government considers its task to be the fullest possible implementation of the package of decisions dealing with the development of the agroindustrial complex adopted by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congresses of People's Deputies and the republican Supreme Soviet. Additional means of transport and material and labor resources are being brought in for the harvest. A number of other measures are envisaged, including the dispatch of cars, refrigerators, television sets, and other consumer goods from market allocations for counter sale to farms and their labour collectives. Unfortunately, it is not proving possible this year to ensure fully state support for the agroindustrial complex. The way in which material and technical backup for adopted programs is being effected continues to be extremely unsatisfactory. The Russian countryside has experienced a considerable shortfall in deliveries of cement, rolled metal, steel pipes, roofing slate, and other materials. In many cases, suppliers have refused to sign contracts despite the fact that resources have been allocated. The chief way out of the food crisis lies in creating the necessary conditions for developing market relations in the countryside. As a result of implementing land reform, structural changes in favor of farms belonging to the population have taken place in agricultural production. A total of 275,000 hectares of land has been set aside for collective orchards—six times as much as the total for the whole of the past year. An area of 415,000 hectares has been allotted for collective market gardens, which is 10 percent higher than the area that existed at the beginning of the year. There has been a 373,000-hectare increase in the area planned for potatoes on the population's farms, while the area sown to vegetable crops has gone up by 102,000 hectares. This makes it possible to expect that the potato crop this year will be up by 450,000-500,000 tonnes.

The small farmers' movement has stepped up its activity: As of 1 September, there were around 30,000 farm holdings in Russia. However, we must be self-critical in admitting that the new economic structure will not play a noticeable part in food supplies to the population this year. Only half of 1 percent of all agricultural land has so far been allotted to Russia's small farmers, and the relative proportion of their output is insignificant. The difficult state of food supplies is being compounded by the consumer market's collapse. On the one hand, there is a continuing shortage of goods and services because of insufficient production and provision, and, on the other, the deficit can be put down largely to the existence of a large amount of excess money in the population's possession and the imbalance in money circulation.

The population's income has increased by R153 billion, including the compensation paid to the population for their deposits in the savings bank—or by 64 percent—while the increase in expenditure on purchasing goods and services amounted to only 47 percent. The whole increase in consumer expenditure was accounted for by rises in retail prices. In the past two months, for every ruble of increase in sale of goods there has been an increase of three rubles in the population's monetary

incomes. Emissions of cash have exceeded the level of emissions for the whole of 1990.

To normalize monetary circulation and the position on the consumer market, evidently the time has come for us to conduct a more decisive and consistent policy of price formation which is in accord with market relations. Therefore, the government intends to introduce proposals to the forthcoming Congress of Peoples Deputies. These proposals will, at the same time, contain measures to provide social support for the population and, in the first place, the less- well-off strata. An important place in this is given to the law on indexing the population's monetary incomes, considering the changes in the prices of consumer goods and services which will be discussed at this Supreme Soviet session.

At the same time, we intend to accelerate implemenation of practical measures to create a market in housing and housing plots and also for the sale of articles and goods which previously did not come onto the retail market and onto the world market—trucks, tractors, machine tools, military industrial complex products, and so on.

The population is very worried about the onset of winter. There is a decline in the volumes of extraction and deliveries of coal and oil and in the rate of gas extraction. There are delays in putting power engineering capacities into operation and in the repair of existing equipment. Enterprises of this complex are now being transferred and accepted under the control of republican administrative bodies. It is a difficult heritage. Since the start of this year, the fuel and power complex enterprises which used to be subordinated to the Union have have reduced the volume of output by more than 4 percent compared with the analagous period last year. Consumers have suffered a shortfall of R1.1 billion in supplies. Almost one-third of enterprises have not coped with their contract obligations. Oil and coal extractions have dropped 11 percent during this period.

Supplies of fuel held by consumers over Russian territory, as a whole, considering the forecasts of their extraction and supply, on 1 January 1992 are estimated by specialists at a level of 73 percent of last year's level, or 13 days compared with 18 days in the past two years.

The government has made decisions and is implementing additional measures to carry out appropriate steps for preparing by winter a housing fund, main services, and sources of heat and energy supply. Material and technical resources are being allocated for their implementation, and measures are being undertaken to improve the transport of fuel. Licensing is being introduced for foreign trade in the ruble and oil products. The enterprises of other industrial branches where the situation is probably worse than in the fuel and energy complex are being transferred to the republic's jurisdiction. As a whole, the volume of industrial production over the year so far has been reduced by 3.8 percent. From January to August, more than 18 percent of enterprises have not met their contractual obligations.

The conversion of defense industries is going slowly. Russia's previous construction complex has been destroyed. The market structures have not gained the necessary strength. The mechanism for material and technical supply has not been laid down. In accordance with the Russian presidential decree of 5 August—on concluding in 1991 the construction of establishments of particular state importance, being done by contract organizations—61 establishments should start functioning in the republic. As of 1 September, only one has come into operation. Only 36 percent of the capital investments assigned for the year for these buildings have been used. The volumes of nonproduction construction are falling. It is expected this year that housing with a total area of 55 million square metres will come into use, which is less than 90 percent of the forecast for the year. Schools with 450,000 places and children's preschool institutions with 200,000 places are slightly more than half the task set.

The republic's government recently took a number of immediate measures to create additional stimuli for contract organizations to work normally. A decision was issued on immediate measures for stablizing the construction complex's state of affairs. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers issued a decision on the order for determining in 1992 the amount of money aimed at consumption. Work is finishing on the draft republican program on development of the construction materials industry and the construction industry in 1992-1995. A government draft resolution is being prepared on immediate measures to increase the supply of construction equipment. A presidential draft decree is being prepared on developing the production of construction materials and engineering equipment for civil housing construction in the Russian Federation.

An instruction has been adopted ordering the priority supply, before year's end, of part of the material and technical resources key to the enterprises of the construction complex. In the current year, there has been a considerable reduction in the foreign trade turnover of enterprises and organizations located on Russian territory. In the period from January to August, it stood at just 63 percent of the turnover in the corresponding period of 1990. Moreover, exports decreased by 25 percent and imports by 46 percent, connected principally with the servicing of our foreign department. Oil exports decreased by 51 percent and gas by 6 percent. Export reductions and the method of creating hard currency holdings, which was instituted by the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers and has operated until recently, have brought about a situation in which, since the beginning of the year, only around 20 percent of the hard currency receipts expected have come into the republican hard currency holdings for Russia. The reduction in hard currency receipts will bring about a decline in imports. Purchases abroad of the most important types of food and consumer goods, as well as industrial and technical products, including special grades of rolled

ferrous metals, pipes, rubber, paper, and other articles, will be almost halved. A study of the earnings and consumer spending of families with different incomes which was carried out by bodies of the Russian Federation's State Statistical Committee has shown that the living standard has recently decreased. In the second quarter of the year, average per capita cash income increased by an average of 60 percent over the same period last year, while the composite consumer prices index has doubled, with a 130 percent increase being registered for food. Despite the increase in food spending and the percentage of utilized cash earnings represented by this spending, average per capita meat consumption has declined by 9 percent, milk by 3 percent, butter by 20 percent, and fruit and berries by 9 percent. At the same time, there has been an increase in the consumption of bread products and potatoes. Medical supplies and the health service are unsatisfactory. Enterprises of the pharmaceutical industry under Union jurisdiction, which are the main producers of medicine, have reduced the production of 300 vitally important medicines by 10-15 percent.

The Russian Council of Ministers has adopted urgent measures to stabilize a position with regard to medicines. It has allocated R276 million from the republican budget to develop production. It has allocated R5.7 billion to hold the retail prices of medicines at 1990 levels. Major credit agreements have been concluded with a number of foreign countries for producing medicines and medical equipment.

In fulfilling the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision of 3 June, elaboration is being completed on a state program to improve the medical supplies and to develop the pharmaceutical industry. The basic aim of the state program and the government's policy is, during 1991-1993, to halt the decrease in production and, by 1995 to meet fully the requirements for the population and the health services for vitally important medicinal means.

To provide state administration for the development of the pharmaceutical industry and for regulation of market relations in the industry, a committee has been set up under the Council of Ministers to develop the medical and pharmaceutical industry. The government considers it essential and possible under these conditions to accelerate the transition to market relations. A most important direction of the intended measures to carry out the economic reform is the formation of the subjects of the market economy, themselves, and to create for them acceptable conditions for functioning. In this regard, it is extremely important to ensure the essential implementation of measures for the destatization and privatization of enterprises, to create a network of small businesses, and to develop the market infrastructure. The government is dealing with all of these questions, but obviously a considerable increase in efforts is required in this direction.

In particular, the basic laws on privatization have been adopted, and preparation is under way for the state program. It is already clear, however, that we have missed several important aspects. Thus, there is insufficient discussion and elaboration of measures and procedures for preparing state enterprises for privatization. Here it is a question of assessing the financial state of enterprises which are to be privatized. Many state enterprises are burdened with debts. For privatization to proceed successfully, the scale of debts should be brought to a level at which the enterprise becomes attractive for possible purchasers or investors.

As we dismantle state control, we should pay attention to the formation of joint-stock, inter-sector concerns capable independently of carrying out major investment and technical programs and of making effective use of foreign capital investment.

The problem of the demonopolization of the economy is very important, but it will evidently require considerable time to solve it. At present, enterprises of Union ministries and departments are coming under the jurisdiction and authority of Russian state bodies, and this process has become more rapid since the events of August.

The transfer of individual coal industry enterprises of the Kuznetsk field and Rostov and Orenburg Oblasts, all enterprises of the State Committee for Geology, and the Khimvolokno state concerns has already been registered officially. All enterprises of the timber, woodworking, pulp and paper, and building materials industries have moved to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. The transfer of a number of enterprises of the machine-building industries, including the defense complex, the Uralmash association, and others is at the registration stage. The Lenpodyemtransmash [Leningrad lifting transport machinery] Association has gone over to Russian jurisdiction.

The RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering is taking under its control enterprises and organizations of the USSR Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry, the USSR Ministry of Power Engineering, the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry, and Gazprom [gas industry] and Neftegazstroy [oil and gas industry construction] concerns. The Russian Ministry of Transport is carrying out the same kind of work with Union transport ministries. The RSFSR Ministry for Communications, Information Technology, and Space has started taking over the material and technical base of the USSR Ministry of Communications, including the network of design and scientific research organizations and facilities in the social sphere. The execution of this republican ministry's decisions is being conducted in coordination with the sovereign states making up the USSR. The USSR Ministry of Health is transferring to the control of the Russian Ministry of Health and Social Security all its material and technical bases, its network of scientific research, training, treatment, and convalescence, and production organizations and institutions.

The issue of material and technical provision was a most important field. A decision has been made to transfer

completely all Union-level structures for material and technical provision, meaning the structures of the former USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply; and the assimilation of that structure on new principles of relations with enterprises and territories is now under way.

Subsequently, the government's efforts must, we think, be concentrated on the following main directions:

1. On consistent implementation of the RSFSR Government's program for stabilizing the economy and moving toward the market.

2. Completing the gathering of the harvest and adopting measures for its preservation and processing. It is necessary to create the most favorable conditions for the development of market relations in the countryside and to select measures for firm state backing for peasant livestock farms; to considerably activate the work of using the possibilities of every rural homestead; to supply with land holdings all citizens wishing to have orchards and allotments; to change the system of economic mutual relations between the government and rural producers of goods; to introduce a uniform land tax—the government has submitted to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on payment for land; to reduce the number of indices and the amount of tax in kind, but to raise its rates; to supply the countryside with equipment; and to create a market for technical and other agrarian services for peasant livestock farms.

3. To complete, in the near future, the transfer to Russian jurisdiction of enterprises subordinate to Union ministries and departments, and to create—on a voluntary basis—corporations, concerns, and associations capable of working efficiently in market conditions.

4. To concentrate attention on boosting the production of building materials and improvement items; to devise a special program for the development of that vital sector; to attract large-scale foreign investment; to carry out technical reequipping; to concentrate material and technical resources on vital production facilities, as identified by the president's decree, and on housing and community facilities; and to develop a nonstate market structure in building.

5. To improve the system for managing transport and communications; to facilitate the creation of competition with the state sector, including in aviation and road transport; and to raise the level of transport construction.

6. To expand contacts with foreign firms; to make our market accessible to foreign investors; to remove customs barriers; to activate the process of creating joint and foreign enterprises; and to create conditions for obtaining new technologies and making competitive products.

7. To improve the system of material and technical supply in conformity with market relations; to switch over basically to a contract system of agreements between enterprises with the provision of intermediary functions and bodies for material and technical supply, and enhancement of the role of commodity exchanges and commercial structures.

8. We must continue forming the Russian Federation's system for handling innovation and creating marketing structures for assimilating the results of fundamental and experimental research and development work on advanced technology, equipment, and materials. Republican structures for state management of scientific and technical progress must be strengthened substantially. The government is now taking urgent measures to set up a system for managing scientific and technical development during the switch to a market economy, one which will make use of highly qualified specialists. A package of priority RSFSR laws must be prepared. These include laws on the state's scientific and technical policy, on intellectual property, on inventions, and on science and scientific work. The drafts of these laws will be tabled this year.

9. Measures to provide social security for the less-well-off section of the population, for pensioners, students, invalids, and large families must be consistently implemented. Because of the reduction in military spending and the withdrawal of our forces from Germany, Cuba, and the East European countries, measures must be drawn up and implemented so that jobs can be found for servicemen and their families and homes and vocational retraining provided for them, bearing in mind the national economy's need for specialists.

10. The RSFSR president's decree on public education must be carried out. The creation of the necessary material and technical facilities for study and retraining should be considered a most important task for local executive bodies. The practice of sending students and young specialists abroad to attend courses at educational establishments should be applied more widely so that they pick up skills which can be used under the conditions of a market economy and accelerated assimilation of technical progress matching up to world standards.

11. Negotiations should be continued with the sovereign republics, as well as with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, with a view to retaining and developing mutually advantageous economic ties, a single market area, and a single currency. This would include the removal of customs barriers and the joint implementation of big projects, including the extraction of minerals and timber and the development of the north.

12. In our view, it is essential, before the end of the year, to adopt a number of bills which will facilitate the introduction of the market. These include bills on work and deliveries needed to satisfy state needs, on mineral resources, on hard currency operations and circulation of hard currency, on state concessions, on intellectural property and its protection, on a single economic area in the RSFSR, on the conclusion of agreements on granting

credit and the receipt of loans from foreign states, on the protection of commercial secrets, and on a number of other bills.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that, although the Russian Government is currently adapting the Union's administrative structures, it certainly does not intend to copy the old or even the renewed machinery of administration by command, which suppressed the initiative of the free producer. In taking over the 80 percent of the economic activity to which we lacked access before, we will do all we can to develop market relations, free enterprise, and rapid incorporation in the world economy. Thank you for your attention.

Lazarev on Execution of Budgets

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[Address by Igor Nikolayevich Lazarev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) finance minister, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 19 September; from the "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies and those here present. The report on the socioeconomic situation just presented to you shows just how complicated and confused the present economic situation is. I do not think there is any need for me to repeat that this has a direct impact on the state of our finances, and especially on the budget. Finance is the cornerstone of our economy. The coming together of a number of increasingly destructive tendencies which undermine economic ties and upset output and the consumer market cannot fail to cause instability in the financial and monetary system. This, in turn, worsens the general state of the economy. To get a clearer picture of the execution of the republic's budgets for the current year, one must bear in mind how they were drawn up and what objectives they were intended to tackle, and how.

First, according to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] law on principles for drawing up budgets adopted by the Supreme Soviet back in October of last year, the ratified budget of 1991 is for the first time not a rigid and overelaborate estimate of revenues and expenditure based on the recalculations of indices which were drawn up before directive plans. At the basis of its expenditure section are forecasts for the socioeconomic development, and also the new taxation mechanism which provides for reduced rates and an increase in tax benefits. This has affected the forecasting of the main sources of revenue, and to a considerable extent reduced the total revenue expected from these sources because of the fall in tax rates. What was therefore required was to periodically revise the dynamics of economic indices and the total of budget revenues, taking into account the fact that the fall in production and price reform intensified their instability.

Second, the level of expenditure for 1991, ratified by the same law, takes into account the last year's level of budget provision. In other words, there were no plans to increase expenditure this year against the 1990 budget level, except for an increase for wholesale and purchase prices.

Third, for the first time this budget was calculated on the basis of revenues—not on the basis of rising expenditures. The limit for budget deficit was established, and the law on the social development of the rural area gave priority to the rutal area. In accordance with this, the RSFSR budget law redistributed resources in favor of the rural area. Allocations were doubled for these purposes, while the total growth of budget expenditure reached 37 percent.

Fourth, as even these conditions failed to enable the revenues to prevent the growth of expenditure because of price rises, the 1991 budget law envisaged additional measures to introduce balance: the introduction of [word indistinct] for a number of luxury goods; a sales tax; the stabilization fund; and to a certain extent the free sale of agricultural produce—something which was designed to reduce subsidies that had been introduced to make up for the difference in prices. One must stress right away that for various reasons it was not possible to implement these measures in full. This made it considerably more difficult to abide by every provision of Russia's budget. That was the basis for calculating a budget deficit acceptable under those conditions—namely 9 billion rubles, or 5.8 percent of the total.

The budgets in the republics and in oblasts and krays were also approved in a similar way.

However, the implementation at the decision of the Union government of a further rise in wholesale prices, and then the reform of retail prices, too—and also the (?additional expansion) of tax benefits, including by the decision of Russia, complicated the situation significantly.

These measures were brought about, of course, at least by the need [word indistinct] of production, and should yield a result. But in the first place it will come only in subsequent years, while incomes are diminishing now. In the second place these measures alone, without the regulation of economic ties and mutual deliveries, will not resolve the problem, of course.

The latest decisions to transfer Union enterprises to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR, and the changes in mutual relations, have been taken into account in the Union budget in the new situation.

It should be noted that despite all the difficulties in implementing the budget of the republic, the republic steadfastly has fulfilled the obligations which it assumed for transferring resources to the Union budget for functions delegated to the Union. As a result of that work which was carried out with the participation of representatives of territories, ministries, and departments, a

program of action was proposed for implementing the budget until the end of the year—that is to say, in the second half of the year. It does not provide for the use of the mechanism of fixing and raising prices and taxes. As the course of the reforms of 2 April showed, neither one nor the other will yield under today's conditions the necessary [word indistinct] effect—neither will it strengthen stimuli at work, nor stabilize the population's standard of living.

Additional measures to freeze wages—which is simply impossible to implement today, although there is such experience in foreign practice—are not proposed.

In the proposed variant of executing the budget, the implementation of emergency measures is provided for in stages—quarterly and [words indistinct] measures. In connection with this, the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, in its decision of 30 July of this year, and proceeding from the law on the budget system for 1991, drew up a special procedure for adopting it in the third quarter, which within the framework of the legislation in operation laid down precise regulations—not only the procedure for the particular execution of the republican budget, but also an additional one adopted after it was approved by various bodies. By various bodies. In our view, a number of measures to arrest the deficit may be implemented in that decision. Its sum—both over seven and over eight months, taking into account banking debts—did not increase against the level of the first six months of the year.

The main thing here was that expenditure should be financed strictly in line with the incomes received and, in principle, decisions on additional expenditure should not be adopted without defining concrete sources. The mutual relations of the budget with the bank are being transferred to a normal, market basis. A credit ceiling for the budget has been set in a form which accords with agreement with the bank. A securities market—an important element of budget policy in a market economy—has begun to operate.

Session To Adopt Statements

LD2009075591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By unidentified TASS parliamentary correspondents]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—The fourth session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet continues its work in Moscow today.

Deputies are planning to adopt statements on yesterday's report by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Lobov on the socioeconomic situation in the republic and a statement on the report made by RSFSR Finance Minister Igor Lazarev.

Parliamentarians insisted that measures regarding the release of Soviet servicemen taken hostage while serving in Afghanistan be included on today's agenda. Deputies will discuss draft laws on the elections of the head of local management and on the indexation of monetary revenue and citizens' savings.

Komissarov Appointment Endorsed

LD2009113891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet session continues work in Moscow today. The members of parliament have begun to develop a program for getting the republic out of its crisis. Recall that yesterday, the session resolved the protracted conflict over the appointment of a head of the chief directorate of internal affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee. This matter proved a touchstone for the Supreme Soviet. It was immediately raised as a broader issue, as a problem of the relationship between representative and executive power, notes today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. In obliging the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president in a resolution to ensure compliance with the legitimate decision made by the Moscow City Soviet on the appointment of Komissarov, the session dealt a considerable blow to Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, and by this precedent endorsed the principle that representative power is more important than executive power.

Anticrisis Program 'Unsatisfactory'

LD2009131491 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The current Russian parliament session has recognised as unsatisfactory the Russian Government's activities in implementing the anti-crisis programme and a programme to revive the Russian countryside.

The parliament today passed a resolution on the socio-economic position of the Russian Federation, suggesting that the president of Russia reconsider appointments in the republican Council of Ministers "with a view to removing from office those leaders who do not ensure the enactment of the laws and resolutions passed by congresses of people's deputies of the Russian Federation and by the Russian parliament."

All legislative and executive state agencies, from the president of the Russian Federation to the heads of local administrations, have been directed to complete the formation of executive power bodies before new year holidays and ensure conditions for their effective functioning.

Local Affairs

Chechen-Ingush Situation Gradually Settling Down

LD1909180691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1721 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 19 Sep (TASS)—The situation in the capital of Chechen-Ingush is gradually settling down. Barricades have begun to come down after many days of continual demonstrations in the city center. The demonstrators are going back to their homes and will return to their jobs tomorrow.

The TASS correspondent was informed at the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People that the national guardsmen who have been defending the democratic forces will be able to continuing serving in one or other of the various agencies responsible for public order in the republic. All weapons will have to be handed in but may in certain circumstances be returned to their owners, once they have been registered.

The republic is making preparations for the formation of new power structures. The executive committee of the Congress plans to hold presidential and parliamentary elections on 19 and 27 October. But these dates still have to be endorsed by the interim Supreme Council, which has assumed the functions of the republic's dissolved parliament.

St. Petersburg's Sobchak Urges Western Help

PM1909160491 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 19 Sep 91 p 9

[Report on interview with Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak by Alec Russell in St. Petersburg; date not given]

[Excerpts] St. Petersburg—Mr. Sobchak does not intend to blandish nor to play the "cap in hand" emissary on his mission to Britain. He aims to launch "Walking Into Power", an autobiographical analysis of the past two years, and promote his city as a financial centre for the new Soviet Union.

He wants to recreate the pre-1917 Anglo-Russian Bank and argues bitterly that the West and Britain in particular, are proving dangerously negative. People report with relish that Mr. Sobachak blasted Mr. Edward Heath, when he was visiting earlier this year, because Britain has neither a consulate nor a banking link with St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad).

As basic facilities break down and economists warn that the city faces its toughest winter since the German siege in the Second World War, it is easy for Western financiers to justify their caution. But visibly tensing for arguments in the coming days, Mr. Sobchak said the West stands to gain from his proposed "Economic Free Zone"; from January most tariffs and taxes in the St. Petersburg region are to be ended.

"We have been talking with the West for months, but with no results. Without help we can never integrate our economy into yours," he said.

Only when discussing the future of the Soviet presidency—for which he is seen as a leading contender—did Mr. Sobchak falter. "It is a tradition in the West that hardly has a president been elected and you talk about the next one. That is not our way," he said, slyly counselling that the next presidential elections could "happen earlier than we all imagine".

He said he admires Charles de Gaulle, John F. Kennedy, and Russia's reformist Prime Minister Peter Stolypin, who was assassinated in 1911.

Suddenly, the third most famous brows in Soviet politics furrowed. Mr Sobchak, dubbed the Soviet Cassandra after the Greek prophetess who was always right but doomed never to be believed, had a warning: "Disillusioned with the ability of democracy to make change, and mistrusting old communists, the people may be lured into demagogy and then to fascism, our biggest threat of all." [passage omitted]

Mr. Sobchak has no time for inept politicians and piqued deputies complain he is forming a dictatorship.

Challenged on this, Mr. Sobchak relaxed for the first time and laughed loudly.

"Too much power? Frankly I don't think the mayor's office has enough. The problem with politicians in Russia is they have a great chance to do nothing, sitting around all day discussing this, denouncing that, delaying everything."

While in London Mr. Sobchak will attend meetings with his host, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, where delegates at a meeting tomorrow night will discuss the problem of food distribution. He will also meet Mr. Major, Mr. Hurd, Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lamont, Chancellor, and Mr. Gummer, Agriculture Minister.

Belorussia

Supreme Council Votes To Change Name to Belarus

LD1909184191 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk September 19 TASS—The Belorussian Supreme Council today endorsed the new name of the republic, the Republic of Belarus. There was not a single vote against. The law has been adopted with several abstentions and went into effect.

The decision on the new state symbols—the flag and the emblem—has not been made. The suggested white-red-white flag was the flag of Belorussian warriors in the middle ages. The people's secretariat of the Belorussian people's republic endorsed that flag in August 1918 as state flag. Belorussia's ancient emblem features a white horseman on red. The horseman is heading to the left with a raised sword and holds a shield with a cross on it. It was the emblem of the Belorussian-Lithuanian state till the end of the 13th century and was adopted as the state emblem of the Belorussian people's republic in 1918.

The consent of two-thirds of the number of deputies is needed to endorse these historic symbols as state symbols. But several votes were lacking. However, deputies continue to hope for their endorsement. They intend to demand that articles with the description of the flag and emblem be dropped from the republic's constitution so as to adopt decisions on these matters by simple majority later.

Belorussian Law on Property Published

914A0667A

For this law published in the 26 December 1990 SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-022, dated 14 May 1991, pages 15-23.

Ukraine

First Presidential Campaign in 'Full Swing'

LD1909163691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The campaign for the election of Ukraine's first president is in full swing in the republic. Today the head of the Ukrainian Republican Party, People's Deputy Levko Lukyanenko, left for Volyn region in order to gain the support of the local residents. In an interview, Lukyanenko singled out that it is not necessary to build a paradise in Ukraine—as the communists wanted—but it is possible to build a genuinely democratic society in Ukraine so that the people could live in abundance.

Another candidate for the post of president is Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. So far he has not begun an active campaign, but his post in parliament is in the limelight. He has his hands full, first and foremost, with the future relations with the center and the republics. Leonid Kravchuk returned from Moscow where he attended a meeting of the top representatives of the republics of the former Union, and today chaired the sitting of parliament.

The collection of signatures is presently taking place in the city of Nikolayev in support of candidate for the post of Ukraine's president. The most often mentioned among the candidates is Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet.

Today Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov regional soviet, continued his election campaign for president in Lugansk region. Several enterprises of the region almost unanimously supported his candidature.

Meanwhile, (Oles Bertnik) made public his presidential program. It includes the immediate setting up of a big presidential council. One of the main tasks in the view of (Oles Bertnik) is the introduction of a financial and banking structure and monetary unit for Ukraine.

[Word indistinct] nine candidatures for the post of president have already been registered in Ukraine. One needs to collect 100,000 signatures in order to become a candidate.

Contenders on Nuclear Arms Issue

LD1909155191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] The contenders for the post of president, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Levko Lukyanenko, expressed totally opposite views as to the fate of nuclear potential deployed in Ukraine. The latter believes that there is no need to hand nuclear weapons over to Russia since they are the property of Ukraine and are of high value. Nuclear warheads contain uranium, a nuclear fuel, which can be extracted and given to nuclear plants of Ukraine.

Vyacheslav Chornovil noted that nuclear potential should be eliminated on the basis of former accords, and with the participation of all other nuclear powers.

The view of Stanislav Hurenko, former first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee and a Ukraine people's deputy, boils down to the need to insure reliable control over the use of nuclear weapons. Apart from that, the weapons should stay in the places they have been kept in till now, he said.

Candidate on Nuclear-Free Zone

AU1909125391 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Sep 91 p 2

["Milo" report: "Ukraine To Become Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] Vienna—On 18 September Vladimir Yavoriskiy, chairman of the investigation committee for the Chernobyl catastrophe and candidate for the presidential elections on 1 December, announced Ukraine's speedy abandonment of nuclear power—in the civilian, as well as in the military sphere: "The first of three Chernobyl reactors that are still in operation will be switched off at the end of the year," Yavoriskiy said. Subsequently, the other nuclear power plants will be closed down, one after the other. Even if the whole Chernobyl power plant is switched off, the power supply will not be affected: "This energy has been exported."

The Ukrainian politician, who was answering questions of the Austrian press at an event organized by the "Anti Atom International" (AAI), also said that all strategic nuclear weapons that are stored on Ukrainian territory would be destroyed: "The weapons and launching bases are administered by us. The Red Army is guarding the facilities, but its Ukrainian commander, General Anatoliy Marosov, represents the independent line of the Kiev parliament as our defense minister."

The scrapping of nuclear weapons is to be started soon. Non-Ukrainian soldiers will be called upon to return to their republics; an exclusively Ukrainian army is to be created, he said.

Finally Yavoriskiy criticized the "corrupt" IAEA for its report on Chernobyl, in which it mainly relied on information from the Moscow central authorities. IAEA Secretary General Blix should apologize for this to the Ukrainian people, he said.

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Continues

LD1909134291 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 18 Sep 91

[From the "Ukraine Today" program]

[Excerpts] We begin tonight's issue with a report about the work of the session of Ukraine's parliament in Kiev. Today the session continued its work. The morning sitting was quite fruitful, the deputies adopted the law on investments. The law is aimed at protecting the rights, interests, and property of investors regardless of the form of property. The law is also supposed to raise the efficiency of investments in Ukraine's economy and enhance international economic cooperation and integration of Ukraine into world economy. Foreign investors are guaranteed equal rights on a par with Ukrainian investors.

Also today, the law on the sources of financing Ukraine's road building economy was adopted in its second reading. This law is aimed at the implementation of the program of developing the network of roads, improving social conditions in rural areas, bettering the ecological situation, guaranteeing safety of traffic, and proper services to drivers and passengers.

The session participants began reviewing the draft law on state taxes. According to this draft law, the list of categories of people who would pay reduced taxes or no taxes at all has been expanded. First and foremost, this refers to the victims of the Chernobyl accident. However, this draft law was not approved by the deputies. It was submitted to a corresponding parliament commission to be further updated.

Today the law on responsibility for the setting up of illegal military formations was adopted in its second reading. There was a discussion on the expediency of introducing capital punishment in relation to those who violate this law. People's Deputies (Oleksandr Yemets), (Larisas Korik), (Mikhail Operovskiy) underlined the inexpediency of including the provision envisaging capital punishment in one of the first acts of an independent Ukrainian state. The deputies agreed with this and excluded capital punishment from the draft law.

During an interval, the People's Council held its sitting to discuss the question on whether or not the referendum scheduled for 1 December this year should be postponed until spring of next year. Also discussed was the question on the expediency of holding presidential elections on 1 December. [passage omitted]

Members of the People's Council agreed [word indistinct] to adopt a resolution and announce it at the parliament session. [passage omitted]

At the evening sitting the deputies heard information of the State Minister of Ukraine for Industry and Transport Viktor Hladush. He reported on the fuel and power supply of the national economy during this autumn and winter season. According to the minister, Ukraine will receive only 93 percent of the amount of fuel delivered last year. The situation will be difficult at the enterprises due to a drop in the production of oil and gas. The majority of the deputies insisted that a transition to a market economy should be carried out as soon as possible. They entrusted the government to work out a package of corresponding draft laws.

Plans To Import Grain, Pay in Gold Denied

LD2009042691 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Kiev September 19 UKRINFORM-TASS—Recent ungrounded [as received] reports in Soviet and foreign mass media have alleged that the Ukrainian Government intends to buy grain abroad paying in gold.

In this connection the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is authorized to state the following:

"The situation with fodder grain is extremely tense in the Ukraine this year. The government is taking all possible measures to meet the needs of animal breeding without depleting the food grain stocks.

One of the ways considered by the government was the possibility of importing some fodder grain payable at the expense of commercial credit from a foreign bank. Credit repayment is possible with exported products manufactured by Ukrainian enterprises and stored in the republican resource reserve fund. [no end quotation marks as received]

Hard Currency Loans Needed for Grain Purchase

LD2009100891 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatolij Grigoriyev]

[Text] Kiev September 20 TASS—Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin asked all enterprises in the republic to give the government hard currency loans for grain purchases abroad.

Total grain yield in the republic is expected to be far less than the annual average because of droughts in the southern Ukraine and heavy rains in the north of the republic. The government has bought 10 million tonnes of grain as of today while the minimum necessary amount equals 17 million tonnes.

The situation forces the Ukraine to purchase grain abroad but the republic, which proclaimed independence a month ago, does not have enough hard currency. At the same time republican enterprises have some 500 million "convertible" rubles on their bank accounts.

The Ukrainian government wants to borrow or buy at commercial exchange rate part of the money.

Regional Communists Said To Work Underground

OW1809175591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The regional committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party [CP] in Lugansk has continued to work underground ever since the CP was outlawed in the republic after the failed coup attempt in August.

Yuriy Kozlovskiy, local leader of the popular movement Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], told a Rukh conference in Lugansk that the communists are now pressing for the Donets Coal Basin's secession from the Ukraine, and urging people to take part in an anti-Rukh campaign.

The conference demanded that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet immediately pass a law identifying any actions aimed at breaking up the Ukraine, as high treason.

Ukrainian Law on 1991 Budget Published

914A0668A

For this law published in the 30 December 1990 PRAVDA UKRAINY, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-022, dated 14 May 1991, pages 13-14.

Moldova

Supreme Soviet Passes Presidential Election Law

OW1909122891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [18 September] the Moldovan parliament passed a law on presidential elections. Under the law a presidential candidate should be a citizen of Moldova aged between 35 and 60, speaking the official language and living in the republic for the past 10 years. Presidential elections have been scheduled for November 24.

Elections Scheduled for 8 Dec

LD2009042191 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev September 19 TASS—The first-ever direct popular elections of the Moldovan president will be held on December 8, 1991. This was announced after the republic parliament had decided on the date after a lengthy debate today.

The heated debates were sparked by the proposal to adjourn the elections until a much later date, put forth by democratic deputies. The proposal was motivated by the need to first promulgate a law on citizenship.

According to democrats, this would enable only Moldavian citizens to elect the president. Deputies from the republic agro-industrial complex, the biggest faction in the parliament, insisted that the republic needed a president trusted by the entire people in order to solve the problems accumulated in the republic. As a result of an open, roll-call voting, most parliamentarians favoured holding the first-ever open popular elections of the president of Moldova.

Russian Delegation Issues Communique on Moldova

AU1909162691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1012 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] A communique of the press service of the presidency of the Republic of Moldova broadcast by MOLDOVA PRES and reproduced by ROMPRES, presents the point of view expressed by Sergey Krasavchenko, the leader of the parliament of the Russian Federation,who has paid a visit to the Republic of Moldova at the invitation of Moldovan President Mircha Snegur, according to whom Moldova does not

violate human rights, emphasizing that on the contrary, those who block the railway in fact harm the rights of citizens of Russia, who in this way do not receive their supply of agricultural products.

The same communique of the presidency reproduces a declaration of President Mircha Snegur, a communique that stresses the need for concrete measures to eliminate the hotbeds of inter-ethnic tension, the need to adopt a definitive position on the status of the Soviet Armed Forces in Moldova, and to establish the period for implementation of the law regarding the use of the languages spoken in the Republic of Moldova.

Likewise, the communique shows that as far as, we quote, the thesis circulated by certain hostile elements, according to which Moldova intends to unite with Romania, the president of the republic proposed that Mr. Constantin Oboroc, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, who accompanied the group of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Moldova, should present a communique in the Supreme Soviet, in which he should clearly state the position of parties and civic movements on this issue.

In conclusion, the communique says that the president of Moldova, Mircha Snegur, expressed his hope that such visits will become a tradition as sure proof of the democratic options the two states favor, that is the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation.

Hopes for Place in European Interstate Relations

LD2009122791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1814 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS special correspondents Andrey Krasnoshchekov and Vitaliy Menshikov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—"The CSCE conference on the human dimension, which is taking place in Moscow, plays an historic role in developing interstate relations in Europe. We hope that independent Moldova will occupy a suitable place in that process," said Ion Chebuk, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Moldova and permanent representative of Moldova in Moscow. He spoke here today at the Moldovan permanent representation during a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in the presence of members of delegations from CSCE member-countries.

During the news conference, Vasiliy Nedelchuk, Valeriu Matey, and Aleksandr Arseniy, who are members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova, described the social and political situation in the republic today, and dwelled in detail on the historical and international legal aspects of the Moldova's declaration of independence on 27 August. They stressed that Moldova has set itself the task of becoming a full member of the international community on the basis of strict compliance with acts of international law, including those in the human rights sphere. As a sovereign state, Moldova intends to cooperate with all states, primarily taking into account the economic ties that have developed with Russia and other republics.

In answer to TASS correspondents' questions about the capacity in which Moldova is taking part in the work of the CSCE's Moscow forum on the human dimension—as an invited member of the Romanian delegation—V. Nedelchuk, chairman of the standing commission on foreign affairs of the Moldovan parliament, said: "We asked the Soviet delegation to back our desire to be a fully participating member of the CSCE process." According to Nedelchuk, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the republic took the necessary steps, but the center did not agree to give Moldova the status of an invited member in the Soviet delegation, suggesting that Moldova could be an ordinary member. "We rejected this offer, since we are an independent state," he noted. "In this situation we took advantage of the invitation from Romania, as one of the states that has recognized Moldovan independence."

Nikolay Osmokesku, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Moldova, added that as a component part of Europe, the republic will make all efforts necessary for integration into the CSCE process, making use of the experience of the Baltic republics. "A number of conditions have to be met, including acceptance of the obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe and subsequent compliance with them, in order to become a full-fledged member of the CSCE." He expressed the hope that, in due course, Moldova will become a full and recognized member of the commonwealth of European peoples.

Prime Minister Muravschi Receives Australian Envoy

AU1909185091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 19/9/1991—Valeriu Muravschi, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, received on September 19 the ambassador of Australia in Moscow, Cavan Hogue, now on a visit to the republic, MOLDOVA PRES reports.

During the interview, the guest expressed the wish to know the realities of the republic both economically and politically.

Australian Ambassador Cavan Hogue was received by Ion Hadarca, first deputy chairman of Moldova's parliament, the same afternoon.

Ambassador Cavan Hogue showed interest in the efforts of the Republic of Moldova to achieve state independence, in the relations of collaboration it conducted with other countries, as well as in the situation in Transdnestr, stressing also that the main purpose of his visit was to establish "direct, more direct contacts than in the past, both economic and parliamentary."

The Australian guest showed he was encouraged by the firmness of parliamentarians in Moldova who guided

themselves in their activity by the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which served establish relations of cooperation between Australia and the Republic of Moldova in a near future.

Military Official Cited on New Armed Forces

LD1909143691 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Demidetskiy]

[Text] Hinev, 19 Sep (TASS)—The republic armed forces set up by a decree issued by Moldovan President Mircha Snegur will be created according to the principle of reasonable sufficiency and their potential must be in direct proportion to the requirements of defending the sovereignty and independence of the republic, Nikolae Kirtoake, General Director of the Moldovan Military Affairs Department, said in an interview with TASS correspondent. Under no circumstances will they be used to resolve internal political or inter-ethnic conflicts: there are law and order bodies and political methods for that.

I suggest, the general director stressed, that we shall be able to guarantee the security of the republic primarily through political, economic, military and other cooperation with the neighboring states of Romania, the Ukraine, Russia and other republics that will be part of a future union and with whom we make up a single military and strategic space. I should like to stress that Moldova does not seek to possess a nuclear potential, strategic bombers or submarines.

By our calculations, N. Kirtoake went on to say, a single motorized rifles division would be sufficient to guarantee our security at the present time. We can reach agreement with our neighbors regarding the defense of our air space, anti-air defense and other aspects of military cooperation.

It goes without saying that the creation of armed forces is a costly affair and here we shall proceed from Moldova's resources, the general director of the department stressed. It is essential, in our view, to reach an agreement on compensating the republics for what they have invested in the creation of the country's powerful military potential. It would be nice to carry out this process, let's call it a "divorce", in a civilized way without throwing plates at one another. After all, foolish actions and haste in this could provoke a social explosion or even a second military coup by servicemen who are experiencing considerable deprivation at present. A start made made to this civilized dialogue at the meeting held on 10-11 September at the USSR Defense Ministry with the participation of delegates from all 15 republics.

Servicemen Concerned

PM1909130591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Residence Permit for Officer"]

[Text] Odessa Military District—Events in the Crimea, Moldova, and in particular in the Dnestr region, are disturbing to servicemen.

In all cities of the Left Bank and in Bendery, armed self-defense detachments of workers have been created. They go on patrol and guard state institutions and establishments. The Moldovan leadership is trying to blame the district for allegedly supplying the Dnestr region with weapons. The district commander has lodged a protest on the matter with the Moldovan leadership.

The intensifying demands for withdrawal of the district's troops from the republic are disturbing the officers, ensigns, and their families. Everyone is asking what awaits him in this region in the future. As a result of the new citizenship law, the families of servicemen are already no longer being registered, stated unit commander Colonel V. Mukabenov. The local authorities are demanding that the officers and ensigns go to the police department in Kishinev to register there, and acquire a residence permit. This infringes on the officers' dignity. Their wives cannot find work or obtain food coupons. The winter is approaching, the commander says, and I have five unregistered families living in private apartments. They need coal and logs for the winter but you cannot buy them without being registered.

Of course, in the Dnestr region these questions are resolved more easily than in other parts of Moldova. But the officers' morale is declining. This is intensified by the depressing state and great shortage of housing in the district.

According to figures received from Lieutenant General Yu. Kuznetsov, first deputy commander of the district, as of 1 August there were 12,761 people in the district without apartments. In Odessa alone there are 2,207 on the waiting list for housing, and the district is erecting about 2,000 apartments a year by its own efforts. It has no more potential [as published], and the local authorities have recently virtually stopped allocating housing, as laid down by the law.

The uncertainty of the future and the expectation of cadre changes are affecting the morale and psychological well-being of the officers and ensigns. This is naturally reflected in the quality of combat training.

Agriculture Minister Views Privatization Issues

AU2009112691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0946 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/9/1991—We ponder every step we take to adapt agriculture to the new conditions starting from concrete realities, stated the minister of agriculture and food of the Republic of Moldova, Andrey Sangheli, to the ROMPRES envoy. We are flexible to all forms of property, the peasant being the last to decide on one form or another.

It is obvious, Minister Sangheli went on, that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes can no longer exist. But we will not destroy what was good. This being a transition period, we pursue the idea of creating companies limited by shares on the basis of private property, but not all farms are prepared to pass on to this new form. Agro-industrial corporations will also be set up, and on a local plane, the processing of products in small centers or factories will be encouraged.

The Republic of Moldova boasts 1.6 million hectares of arable land, of which 45-46 percent are under cereals. Adding to them are about 400,000 hectares of orchards, and 350,000 hectares for vegetable growing. Vine holds a 27 percent share, Moldova being known for its wines, champagne and brandy.

Dnestr Region Conflict Continues Unresolved

Railway Blockade Continues

OW1909203091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the six people's deputies from the Dnestr region arrested by the Moldova authorities on charges of supporting the August putsch has been released from prison subject to staying in the area. This is Chairman of the Bendera City Council Ghymn Pologov. That was announced at Thursday's [19 September] press conference in Moldova's representation in Moscow by the member of the Moldovan parliament's Presidium Victor Berlinskiy who also explained that the commander of the army units in Moldova treats the act by the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic of taking over their jurisdiction as violation of oath.

Meanwhile the INTERFAX correspondent was informed by the leader of the Dnestr Supreme Soviet's press service Valeriy Litskay that the blockade of the railways goes on despite an appeal by the Tiraspol City Council to the women to call off the pickets. On Friday the Dnestr parliament will be in session. V. Litskay says the whole session is going out to talk to the women's pickets to try to persuade them off the tracks. Earlier it was reported that Moldovan volunteers and police had removed the blockade from motor roads leading from the left bank of the Dnestr.

Last Friday, according to the Dnestr press service, the militia of Rybnitsa took an oath of allegiance to the Dnestr Republic. Similar acts by law and order are expected in other towns of the left bank.

Incident Complicates Settlement

LD2009080291 Moscow TASS in English 0654 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev September 20 TASS—The incident that occurred in the area of Tiraspol on Thursday [19 September] night seems to complicate a peace settlement of the situation in the Dnestr region. Moldovan Interior Ministry staff launched an armed attempt to seize Yuriy Grossul, head of the Interior Ministry department for the Dnestr region, last night, Vladimir Rylyakov, deputy chairman of the Tiraspol City Council, told TASS.

According to Rylyakov, this happened when Grossul drove out onto the city outskirts to meet republican First Deputy Interior Minister Konstantin Antoch.

Moldovan Interior Minister Ion Kostash denied the version presented by Rylyakov. He said Antoch did go to Tiraspol, on Grossul's insistence, to prevent unlawful attempts in the Dnestr region to put local police bodies under the control of the Dnestr region authorities. But at the place of the meeting, to which Antoch drove alone, his car was attacked by armed persons.

Snegur Ends Investigations

LD1909144291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] In accordance with Moldovan President Mircha Snegur's decree, all investigations into the deliberate blockade of rail and other transport links are ended from today. The decree was prompted by the need to achieve peace and accord in the republic. In light of the decree, yesterday evening [18 September] residents of villages adjacent to the town of Bendery ended their blockade of highways.

The first reaction to the decree in the Dnestr region was negative, however. In Bendery and Rybnitsa, women continue to picket the railways.

Georgia

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Begins 19 Sep

LD1909131291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1118 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] We end this bulletin with a dispatch from Georgia. As is known, the situation there remains tense. Tengiz Ablotia, our correspondent in Tbilisi, describes the latest events:

[Ablotia] A session of the republic's Supreme Soviet opened in the Georgian Council of Ministers building on 19 September. In the context of the events which preceded its commencement, this session could be of decisive significance in emerging from the crisis. Statements by two organizations belonging to the roundtable bloc were published yesterday. They demanded that the opposition should be given the opportunity to express its opinion freely and that new parliamentary elections should be called. Thus differences on fundamental issues have made their appearance in the ruling bloc itself. However, Akakiy Asatiani, the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, who signed one of these statements, spoke at a government demonstration yesterday where he once again confirmed his loyalty to President Gamsakhurdia.

The agenda for today's session includes questions the solution of which could bring relative stability to the situation. These are the formation of a commission on the Tbilisi events of 2 September, and most important, it is possible that the question of calling new elections to the republic's parliament will be discussed. If this decision is adopted the elections would probably take place in six or seven months' time, in the spring. In reply to a question from the (YEPRINDA) news agency correspondent about likely developments at the session, (Roman Gocharidze), a well-known Georgian economist and member of the Democratic center deputies group, said that everything will depend upon the extent to which Gamsakhurdia is capable of making compromises with the opposition, for authority that is incapable of compromising is doomed.

President Admits Deterioration

LD1909185491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1751 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Sep (TASS)—Statements by deputies immediately after the session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet began work today, as well as the examination of the agenda, greatly delayed the debate on the principal question—the political situation which has arisen in the Republic.

According to SAKINFORM agency correspondents Eduard Ediberidze and Guram Chanishvili: Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia who spoke on this question, acknowledged that the sociopolitical situation in the Republic, especially its capital whose center is blocked off by barricades, has sharply deteriorated. Analyzing the reasons that have led to the confrontation, he pinned the blame for this not only on the opposition but also on the authorities that have in practice not applied the force of law. The President called on the parliamentary opposition not to join forces with the opposition "on the streets". He rejected numerous accusations both against himself personally and the lawfully elected authorities. Once again he called on the opposition to take part in a constructive dialogue. Zviad Gamsakhurdia particularly emphasized that there would be no winners or losers from the confrontation of various forces in Georgia. The only winners would be the center, the empire. To avoid catastrophe, he called for immediate efforts to find a way to consensus and—most importantly—to preserve the Parliament, to rise above personal ambitions, to unite and, through joint efforts, to save Georgia and win its complete independence.

The session will continue tomorrow.

Gamsakhurdia Says Leaders Share Blame

OW1909223891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has admitted that "the blame for the present situation rests not only with the opposition, part of it falls on the republic's leadership".

Addressing the session of Georgia's Supreme Soviet on September 19 the President countered the opposition's criticism of failure to carry out privatisation and land reform in the republic, also of curbs on mass media. Z. Gamsakhurdia said that the law on privatisation passed by Parliament comes into force October 1, whereas the bill on land has been submitted to the current session. "Thus", stressed the President, the opposition's accusations that the Georgian leadership is uninterested in these reforms are groundless".

Speaking on mass media Z. Gamsakhurdia named a number of papers published by the opposition and suggested giving some space to its spokesmen on the pages of the official press, also setting up an alternative channel on the republic's television.

The President called on the opposition's parliamentary parties for a constructive dialogue and cooperation "for the good of Motherland". He urged them to dissociate themselves from the destructive actions of "street opposition" which can only be described as "violations of law and order".

At the same time Z. Gamsakhurdia confirmed his readiness for a dialogue with parties and political organisations outside parliament and intimated they might be given a chance to speak in the Supreme Soviet.

Opposition Blocks Communists Expulsion

AU1909135491 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Georgia, Sep 19 (AFP)—Georgian opposition deputies succeeded Thursday in blocking a move to expel 60 Communist deputies who were suspended from the legislature during its session on Sunday, parliamentary sources said.

The vote on expulsion was a dead heat, with 89 voting for and 89 against. Its failure to pass showed that the parliamentary opposition has gained ground following two weeks of street demonstrations seeking the ouster of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The president, a Georgian nationalist who won by a landslide in democratic elections last spring, has come under increasing fire from critics claiming he uses autocratic methods to stifle dissent.

The deputies, who were meeting in closed session for the second time in a week, decided to extend their sitting to a second day, and to tackle political questions on Thursday and economic ones on Friday. The parliamentary session comes a day after Gamsakhurdia lost control of state television amid a fresh demonstration by thousands of opponents to his rule.

Most of the points on Thursday's agenda were concessions to the opposition. Major institutional changes could emerge from the session, the sources said. Deputies were to debate the recent arrests of prominent non-parliamentary opposition figures Guia Chanturia and Georgy Khaindrava, the sources said.

Georgia's prosecutor general, Vakhtang Raznadze, has refused to indict Chanturia, who is head of the small National Democratic Party. He cannot be detained without charges for more than 72 hours, and so must be released late Thursday barring intervention by the president. Gamsakhurdia, increasingly isolated, took part in a rally late Wednesday by supporters brought to the capital from throughout the republic on buses rented by local authorities. An estimated 5,000 to 6,000 turned up, no more than on previous such occasions and far less than the recurrent protests by opponents of his regime.

Georgia unilaterally declared independence in April. Gamsakhurdia has rejected offers by the new Moscow leadership to support an economic agreement governing relations between the centre and the republics.

Gamsakhurdia Responds to Opposition's Criticism

LD1909192791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 19 sep 91

[Interview with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by correspondent Jan Smihula in the Republic of Georgia; Gamsakhurdiya speaks in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Smihula] The first question I asked the Georgian president was about his view of the complicated situation in Georgia.

[Gamsakhurdia in Russian fading to Slovak translation] Everything in Georgia is normal. It is not normal just on one street in Tbilisi, in one small part of the city. You will always have dissatisfied people who are against a president, against the regime in power. This is not surprising; it is nothing horrible. Let them voice their views. We are not going to be scared by that. And we do not perceive it as something wrong.

[Smihula] Would you comment on the fact that many people describe you as a dictator and a fascist?

[Gamsakhurdia] This is totally untrue. Dictators never organize free elections; dictators are not elected, they attempt to seize power by force and elect themselves. I was elected by 87 percent of the vote. Our press is free. There is opposition press here. Television is free—but it must not be allowed to abuse and scandalize the president and government.

You know, there is no real opposition here; those people are hooligans—nothing else.

[Smihula] Yet he argued with the next question—that the opposition is not formed just by hooligans, but its ranks were joined by members of the intelligentsia who supported him not so long ago.

[Gamsakhurdia] That is the intelligentsia whose members enjoyed various privileges under the rule of the communists, in the Shevardnadze period. At present they dream about it, because they lost their privileges, houses, cars. We call such intelligentsia the one with awards—as they used to get all the awards, orders, etc. They do not have these things anymore, and that is why they are dissatisfied.

[Smihula] But without the opposition, without a dialogue, you cannot achieve the democracy for which you are striving; and you rejected dialogue with the opposition.

[Gamsakhurdia] This is all lies. I spend every minute calling for a dialogue, but they reject it. The members of the opposition want power, and they are fighting for it—but without elections. Do you understand? Without elections. They want seats; they seek advancement of their careers. They do not want a dialogue, because they are going to lose in it. [passage omitted]

Opposition Parties Comment on Political Situation

Centrists Reissue Resignation Demand

OW1909175591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 19, a number of Georgia's centrist parties and organizations demanding resignation of the

Georgian president gave a press conference in Tbilisi. Representative of the Union of Free Democrats, Iliko Khaindrava, said that "the Georgian president's resignation was a matter of ethics". He also said that "after the incident on September 2, Gamsakhurdia has no right to remain president."

Asked by IF [INTERFAX] if dialogue between the opposition and the president was possible, Mr. Khaindrava said that "although the president epressed readiness for dialogue, he has made no steps toward it." Mr. Khaindrava reiterated the opposition's demands which must be fulfilled by the president if he reckons on dialogue: to free political prisoners and give the opposition access to TV" [no closing punctuation, no opening quotation mark as received]

Chairman of Georgia's Green Party, Zurab Zhvania, told journalists that according to his sources, back on Wednesday, Gamsakhurdia's supporters in different regions set out to Tbilisi on buses. He said they were in a rather aggressive mood. He also compared the current situation with the situation in Romania when miners who had arrived in Bucharest from provinces dispersed an opposition meeting in front of the parliament.

Chanturia Sees Democratic Revolution

LD1909112191 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—"In Georgia, a peaceful democratic revolution is taking place. It will undoubtedly end with a triumph of democratic forces," one of the leaders of the opposition in the Republic—Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the National Democratic Party, said in an interview published today in Moscow's NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Gazette). He gave the interview three hours before he was arrested during an attempt to leave by air for Moscow.

Chanturia believes that the only way out for Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia is "to resign, since he hinders the gaining of independence by Georgia. As long as he remains in office, not a single normal state would recognise Georgia."

A split of the opposition in the Republic has been overcome and it now takes joint actions. The National Democratic Party favours the formation of an interim Georgian government headed by Tengiz Sigua after Gamsakhurdia's and the Parliament's resign.ation. Sigua has been removed by Gamsakhurdia from the premiership.

Sigua, for his part, in an interview published in the same issue of the Independent Gazette, argues that "Gamsukhurdia wants to reign in a closed state" and is against large-scale contacts with the parliaments of European countries and the United States.

The former Georgian premier also says that one of reasons for his resignation was "that there were incompetent people in the Parliament and government." Sigua denied rumours that he himself intended to become a president. He believes that Georgia is not ready for the presidential form of government.

Chanturia's Release Demanded

OW1909121991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A dialogue between the Georgian opposition and the authorities is possible only if the leader of the National Democratic Party Georgiy Chanturia is released as well as a leading member of the same party Irina Sarishviliy and a presidium member of the National Congress Georgy Khoshtaria. This was disclosed in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] by the leader of the Social-Democratic Party Guram Muchaidze. He said that on Tuesday he met the head of the Georgian parliament Akakiy Asatianiy and stated the demands of the opposition: the abolition of presidency and the formation of a provisional coalition government which should include representatives of all major political parties and organizations.

According to Muchaidze, Asatiani submitted the list of demands to President Gamsakhurdia who turned them down.

Tbilisi Protest Groups Outline Demands

AU1909114391 Tbilisi SVOBONDAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Murad Alashvili: "What is Happening on Rustaveli Prospect?"]

[Text] **Due to the fact that the political situation in the republic has worsened in recent days, the most loved prospect throughout the whole of Georgia, Tbilisi's trademark, has a fairly unattractive appearance. The street is blocked with crates, boards, automobiles, and pieces of metal.... Four actions are being held here simultaneously. Their participants are located in a small part of Rustaveli Prospect, generally speaking, not far from one another.**

Near the former Marxist-Leninist Institute building, the National Independence Party (NIP), the Party for the Restoration of Statehood (PRS), and the Society of Ilya the Righteous led by G. Gogbaidze are holding a unlimited sit-down demonstration and several hundred people gather here daily to support them.

A little further on, the National Democratic Party (NDP) is also holding an unlimited demonstration near its residence.

Still further on, a sit-down and also unlimited demonstration is being held outside School Number One on the initiative of the Monarchist (Conservative) Party.

These three demonstrations are all against the government. However, almost right next to the Monarchists,

outside the Government building, members of the All-Georgian Society of St. Ilya the Righteous have gone on hunger strike in protest against the anti-Government statements of the first three demonstrations.

A SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent met and talked with the organizers and participants of these demonstrations.

"We ourselves do not have the right to demand the resignation of the president and the dissolution of the Supreme Council," says T. Sumbatashvili, a member of the NIP's main committee, "as we did not take part in their elections. Therefore, we are calling upon the electors to do this. Furthermore, we are striving to secure the release of Dzhaba Ioseliani [the former leader of the illegal militia group the "Mkhedrioni"] and other political prisoners, the possibility of being able to express our views in the mass media, and punishment for those responsible for the bloodshed...."

The participants of the second demonstration are making more or less the same demands. Their position differs in that they are calling for the holding of new parliamentary elections following the dissolution of the Supreme Council, elections in which they themselves intend to participate, and the implementation of radical economic and administrative reforms.

"We are not against the independence of Georgia and its recognition on the international arena," say V. Khukhunaishvili and G. Chakhvadze, members of the NDP's main committee. "We were asked by American congressmen who were here recently: 'Does your opposition agree that the United States and other Western countries should recognize Georgian independence given the present conditions?' Our answer was as follows: 'We would like Georgia to be recognized by the international community at any time and no matter what the conditions but our relations with the Government concerns the internal affairs of our country....'"

The sit-down demonstration being staged outside School Number One near the monument to Ilya Chavchavadze and Akakiy Tsereteli started on 5 September.

"We believe that the institute of the presidency is generally alien to the Georgian people," says G. Zhorzholiani, a member of the Monarchist (Conservative) Party. "However, our demands are not so categoric regarding the resignation of the president. The minimum that we would like to achieve is the observance of the rights of the minority, the opportunity to have access to the mass media...."

Members of the All-Georgian Society of St. Ilya the Righteous have gathered outside the Government building and have resumed the unlimited hunger strike begun as early as December 1990 with the following demand: to end the interference in Georgia's affairs of Eduard Shevardnadze, the newly fledged "democrat," organizer, and executor of the tragic events of 9 April 1989; to immediately expose and convict those persons who used firearms at the rally on 2 September; to institute criminal proceedings against the organizers of the provocative rally that was conducted by hooligans; to punish those who have encroached upon the honor and dignity of the president and national parliament elected by the people.

M. Chkhikvadze, member of the board of the All-Georgian Society of St. Ilya the Righteous says:

"We believe that today is the most critical moment when the fate of Georgia is being decided. Therefore, without any exaggeration, I will say that we will guard to the end the democratic achievements of our people who were the first to elect their parliament and president...."

Representatives of the Mestia regional organization of the Helsinki Union have joined members of the All-Georgian Society of St. Ilya the Righteous in this demonstration.

However, the opposing camp has also been reinforced: Yesterday, cadets gathered near the art gallery and members of the Citizens' League near the Rustaveli monument.

In conclusion, I would like to present the opinion on the events taking place in Rustaveli Prospect of the famous American lawyer Mr. Alan Gold who, throughout these days, has been walking through the streets of Tbilisi with his working group, filming the rallies and demonstrations.

"For us, Americans, there is nothing unusual in this. Rallies and demonstrations take place in our country every day. However, the most important thing that we must remember in such situations is that the norms of the law must not be broken under any circumstances."

So, for how much longer will these confrontations in the central avenue and the chaos and disorders in the center of the Georgian capital continue?

Now, at this critical moment in our history when the fate of free Georgia is being decided, everyone must make a choice and take the sensible decision to reject confrontation. Hundreds, thousands, millions of ordinary citizens of our republic are saying this, people who want to live in peace, labor, and engage in creative activity in their free and happy land....

Foreign Minister Responds to RSFSR Statement

AU1909123691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 13 Sep 91 p 1

[Letter "To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]" from Murman Omanidze, first deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Georgia; place and date not given]

[Text] In connection with the "Statement on the Situation in the Republic of Georgia" issued by committees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 10 September 1991,

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia would like to draw your attention to a number of theses in this statement:

1. In bewilderment and with strong repulsion, we reject the accusations to the effect that the processes that are under way, in particular, in Abkhazia and in Tbilisi, "do not fit within the framework of civilized notions of the observance of human rights, including the rights of national minorities, and their guarantees."

To begin with, as has been repeatedly stated by the president of the Republic of Georgia, the Abkhaz (just like the Georgians) are not a national minority, but an indigenous population of an autonomous republic. However, if we speak about the infringement of rights, this rather applies to the rights of the Georgian population of Abkhazia, the territory of which has always been and will continue to be an inalienable part of Georgia.

Regarding Tbilisi, it is a universally recognized fact that, over centuries, representatives of dozens of various nationalities have lived and continue to live in peace and friendship in the capital of Georgia, something that is a unique phenomenon. If the RSFSR Supreme Soviet possesses trustworthy facts confirming the aforementioned accusations, it would have obviously been appropriate to use them to illustrate the unsubstantiated statements.

2. Regarding the so-called former South Ossetia, the Ossetians residing in these Georgian regions have been given maximum rights and freedoms in line with all the corresponding international legal acts. It would be appropriate to point out that the Ossetians residing in their real homeland on the northern slopes of the Caucasus have, on the contrary, been subjected to Russification over many decades. It is common knowledge that, unlike in Georgia, the indigenous Ossetian population there has, until recently, been deprived of the possibility to even receive education in its native language.

3. The Republic of Georgia is ready to support the initiative of the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan regarding the need to conclude an interstate convention on guaranteeing the rights of national minorities.

We have to reiterate that (as far as we are concerned), there are no analogies, in this respect, to the [Georgian] situation in any other republics: In Georgia, representatives of national minorities—Armenians, Azeris, Russians, Greeks, Ossetians, Kurds, and Jews—have the possibility of studying at schools and institutions of higher learning in their own languages and at the expense of the state, reading newspapers and magazines, listening to radio programs, having theaters and ensembles for folk singing and dancing, and their own publishing houses, worshiping and practicing their religious rites in their own churches, and so forth. Recently, the parliament of Georgia approved a draft Law on Citizenship in accordance with which all citizens of the republic have been given absolutely equal rights irrespective of their nationality, language, sex, or religion.

4. It was painful for us to read the accusation to the effect that Z.K. Gamsakhurdia allegedly "has not always been proper in his invocation of the name and authority of B.N. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR." Both president Gamsakhurdia and the vast majority of the Georgian population have sincere respect for B.N. Yeltsin and rate highly his contribution, especially in the light of the recent events.

At the same time, we cannot help feeling offended by the hostile and, frequently, insulting attitude toward the president of Georgia in the central and Russian mass media. We are even more distressed by the fact that we do not know of a single fact of public rebuff on the part of the Russian leadership to the increasingly frequent attacks upon Z.K. Gamsakhurdia, head of state of the Republic of Georgia. The population of the republic perceives this, with indignation, as a tacit approval of the insults.

5. It is asserted in the statement that, as it puts it, "our statement cannot, consequently, ab initio be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia." However, the threat to introduce a state of emergency sounds precisely like a totally unjustified interference in the internal affairs of our state (the respect for the sovereignty of which has been proclaimed in the statement). Our people have enough strength, skills, and firmness to be able to maintain peace, calm, and order in their own home.

6. We are ready to consider specific proposals "for an improvement of the situation in the human rights sphere" and to establish permanent observation posts. However, in addition to the deputies from the RSFSR, the USSR, and the Republic of Georgia, we find it essential to enlist the services of representatives of the democratic public of such republics as Armenia, Moldova, of one of the Baltic republics, as well as of two or three foreign countries for the work at these posts. It would also be most desirable to invite representatives of authoritative international organizations. It may be said with confidence that all of this will help to shatter the artificially inflated excitement with regard to the alleged violations of human rights and of the rights of the national minorities in our republic.

Such posts, if they are created, will, apparently, also help to establish the true reasons for the complications in "the internal situation in contiguous territories of the RSFSR."

7. In conclusion—the most important point. Georgia, like other republics, is presently going through times that are far from simple and are exceptionally difficult. As we are advancing toward genuine democracy and are breaking down the structures of the administrative command system, we have to overcome, in addition to the fierce resistance on the part of our whole environment heavily burdened by its past experience, also the extremely dangerous stereotypes of thinking and behavior that are hampering our forward movement.

We believed that mutual understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation with Russia might become an important factor in this movement, along the thorny path, toward our sacred goal, especially after the sharp acceleration of the democratic changes.

It is painful to point this out, but, unfortunately, the statement gives reasons for serious doubts with regard to these hopes.

Please bring the above considerations to the notice of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Yours respectfully,

M. Omanidze, first deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Georgia.

Kutateladze Appointed Deputy Defense Minister

AU1909171391 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Text] Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of B.T. Kutateladze as Deputy Minister of Defense of the Republic of Georgia

To appoint Kutateladze Besik Tengizovich as deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Georgia.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 11 September 1991.

Shakeup Reported in National Guard Administration

AU1909171591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Text] Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Release of G.A. Papavadze From the Post of Chief of the Main Administration of the National Guard of the Republic of Georgia

To release Giorgiy Arsenyevich Papavadze from the post of chief of the Main Administration of the National Guard of the Republic of Georgia.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 10 September 1991.

Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Appointment of V.F. Kobaliya as Chief of the Main Administration of the National Guard of the Republic of Georgia

To appoint Vakhtang Fedorovich Kobaliya as chief of the Main Administration of the National Guard of the Republic of Georgia.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 10 September 1991.

Attitudes to Transcausus District Troops Viewed

PM1909135591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p

[Unattributed report: "'Stay. But... Pay'"]

[Text] Transcaucasus Military District—It looks as though the echoes of the campaign for the withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces units and subunits have reached as far as the Transcaucasus. Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia started it. At a meeting with Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, he cautiously suggested the "Ukrainian option"—transferring the troops deployed on Georgian territory to the authority of the republic's government. The opposition parties are acting even more drastically. The national independence party, headed by Tsereteli, has issued an appeal to the "occupiers" demanding that they go home immediately, under threat of actions. The national democrats, headed by G. Chanturiya, have made similar demands.

At the same time sane voices are also to be heard in this chorus hostile to the Soviet Army.

N. Natadze, leader of the People's Front of Georgia and a deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has issued a statement urging citizens to avoid conflicts with the military and suggesting that a special parliamentary commission be created which will determine: "A—the army's legal status for the period of its stay in Georgia; B—the duration of the stay of military units in Georgia; C—the regulations for the army's stay, including the procedure for its deployment and redeployment; and D—the size of the payment for the right to use Georgian territory and the procedure for payment."

A similar process is taking place in Azerbaijan, where President A. Mutalibov has already created a similar commission but, being vitally interested in retaining troops in the republic against the background of the conflict with Armenia, he is not raising questions of "payment for their presence." The two conflicting republics are strenuously seeking ways of drafting as many young men as possible into the national armed formations, which is extremely worrying for the district command. Meanwhile in Armenia a law has been prepared on alternative service and a patrol and guard service regiment and special detachment for assisting the militia have already been created. The main task is guarding the border with Azerbaijan. In addition parliament has prepared a law on military service. The Armenian Supreme Soviet will examine the entire "package" after the 21 September referendum. Obviously the adoption of these laws will determine in the immediate future the level and nature of the relations between the Transcaucasus republics and the Transcaucasus military district command.

Sociopolitical instability in the region has given rise in the garrisons and among the officers and ensigns and the servicemen's families to a number of questions which will

be submitted in concentrated form for discussion by the council of the Officers Assembly of the district headquarters and directorate. Here are just the main points.

1. The officers collectives must be called on to consolidate and must not allow division into "right" and "left," into party and nonparty people, and so forth. Priority goes to the demands of the USSR Constitution and the fulfillment of their official duty. 2. The USSR defense minister must be asked about the status of the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District. 3. The withdrawal of the district troops from the "hot" spots of the Transcaucasus must be achieved, as must the return of all subunits to their places of permanent deployment and they must renounce the functions of internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. 4. The army must swear allegiance to the country's Constitution and the president, fulfilling only the functions connected with defense against an outside enemy. 5. The questions of providing the families of the servicemen and employees of the Soviet Army with work, medical services, and education in schools must be resolved if the Army remains for any time on the territory of the republics which have left the Union.

Armenia

Presidential Election Fields Nine Candidates

OW1909175091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 19 Sep 91

["Nine Armenian Presidential Nominees Secure Enough Support for Registration"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deadline for the presentation of 15,000 signatures required to have a candidate registered has expired. Signatures have been presented by 9 out of the 11 candidates. They are:

—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet;

—Vazgen Manukyan, the Armenian Prime Minister;

—Zoriy Balayan, People's Deputy of the USSR and Literaturnaya Gazeta's correspondent in Armenia;

—Paruir Airikyan, the leader of the Union for Armenia's National Self-Determination;

—Rafael Kazaryan, Chairman of the Armenian parliament's Commission for Science, Education, Language, Culture and Civil Initiative;

—Martuni Arutyunyan, ex-Director-General of the production amalgamation "Armelektromash" (on September 12 this vacancy was filled by former First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party's Central Committee, Karen Demirchyan);

—Myasnik Akopyan, President of the Republican Banking Association;

—Sos Sarkisyan, People's Deputy of the USSR, People's Artist of the USSR, Chairman of the Armenian National Union;

—Ashot Navasardyan, Chairman of Armenia's Republican Party.

Registration of candidates will begin next week.

Yeltsin NKAO Visit, Recent Clashes Viewed

NC1909140691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin will visit Nagorno-Karabakh in the coming days to restore the Soviet authority there and to end the bloodshed.

The USSR State Council has recommended that Gorbachev also should visit Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to information from the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet press center, Azerbaijan's Republican Organizational Committee on Nagorno-Karabakh is being dissolved and it is being replaced by the Azerbaijani Coordination Council. The Council is to consist of representatives from the various groups in the Azerbaijani parliament.

In the meantime, the clashes between the Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and Armenian fighters continue. The morning of 17 September, the Azerbaijanis opened heavy artillery fire on Karachinar village. The Armenian side did not return fire. At noon Karachinar came under renewed artillery fire from the direction of the Azerbaijani-inhabited (?Shekhe) village. This time the Armenians were forced to return fire. The clashes continued late into the evening. The Armenian side lost one man. Later on, Verishen and Manashid villages came under rifle fire from the direction of (?Tugan) village.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Yerevan Network in Armenian at 0600 GMT on 19 September reported the following on its "From the Review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN" program]: "As is already know Boris Yeltsin will soon visit Nagorno-Karabakh. Details of the visit is not yet made public. The aim of the visit is known only in a general outline: To assist in solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and end to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. It is assumed that Yeltsin will work to restore the constitutional authorities in Nagorno- Karabakh. This is no small effort in itself.

("Under the rubric 'An Attempt To Presage,' the paper has published an article by Ovannes Ayvazyan entitled 'When Yeltsin Arrives in Nagorno-Karabakh.' Ayvazyan makes the following assumptions by invoking the right to err: It was the State Council which authorized Yeltsin to undertake such an initiative, and as such it is only logical to assume that a broader array of problems will be discussed during this visit. It also is possible that besides meeting the leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh, Yeltsin also might meet Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Ayaz Mutalibov.

These could be separate meetings, but the most probably a tripartite, or quadripartite meeting—that is, including the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh—might take place.

("Despite all that, we have to wait until the possible decrees by the country's president are issued, and—this is the most important point—hope that these decrees will be implemented.")

Parliament Recognizes Georgian Independence

AU1909124391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 14 Sep 91 p 1

[ARMENPRESS-SAKINFORM report: "Armenia Has Recognized the Independence of Georgia and the Baltic Republics"]

[Text] YEREVAN [as published], 13 September. The parliament of the Republic of Armenia has recognized the state independence of Georgia and the Baltic Republics. The republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been instructed to start negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations with them.

As stated by Babken Araktsian, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Council, who was conducting the Armenian parliamentary session, the present session was one of the most pleasant for the parliamentarians who stood for a long time applauding the adopted resolution: It has been a long time since a decision has been adopted unanimously by the Armenian parliament.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov on Republic's Obligations, Iranian Ties

LD1909223291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1328 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—I am a realist and consider that all the republics should have sovereign rights, not puppet ones, but sovereign governments, possessing a totality of power, Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov stated in an interview for the weekly GLASNOST. But at the same time, having declared their independence, all the republics must proceed from the fact that the country has long developed in circumstances of extremely rigid integration, which it would be simply catastrophic to destroy. And if we do not manage to create efficient horizontal links, raise the level of production and get out of the pincers of the deficit, then only the sound of independence will remain.

Now, the president continued, it is necessary to strengthen economic contacts. After all, in that civilized market economy for which we are striving, not even a written obligation, but just a word is already business. If we break agreements we will never be believed in the future: either in a union or abroad.

I think that relations between our republics with a predominately Islamic population and other Islamic states beyond the border of the union will develop primarily in the trade and economic sphere. Recently, in Iran, I met representatives of an association of industrialists who are developing Iran's relations with the Soviet Union. My interlocutors complained that many of their proposals are not being implemented, moreover, they are often not being implemented because of purely bureaucratic encumbrances and the multistage decisionmaking process. Business people note that there is a basis for trade but no possibility of realizing it. During the conversations I did not feel any desire to have any large-scale influence on our way of thinking or to change our way of life: Everyone lives in his own way as a result of the traditions of his state and people. Of course it is impossible to deny the presence of various religious movements. I take it upon myself to assert: The completely instinctive consolidation of Muslim states which is often written about does not exist. I am convinced that the Azerbaijani people, having set off on the road to joining world civilization will preserve their traditions and culture.

People's Front Leader Wants National Army

OW1909221291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chairman of the Azerbaijani People's Front's commission on draft and army service Fahmin Gadjiev has expressed an opinion that the republic's Supreme Soviet should recall all the Azeri soldiers from the Soviet Army and form a national army from their number.

Speaking on the republic's television he demanded that pending the formation of the national army the Azeri draftees should serve on the territory of the republic.

Besides, F. Gadjiev finds that the republic's authorities should take measures to protect Azeri soldiers who are subjected to beatings and humiliation in the Soviet Army. Those who desert due to threats or violence should be given a chance to continue army service in Azerbaijan.

F. Gadjiev insisted that the republic's defence minister should be a civilian (newly appointed to the post is Lieutenant-General Valeg Vershatli—IF [INTERFAX]).

F. Gadjiev also demanded that all the military colleges and schools in Azerbaijan should be subordinated to the republic's authorities.

F. Gadjiev's television address was the first by a spokesman of the People's Front since January 1990.

Kazakhstan

Record Low Grain Harvest Expected

LD1909121691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] In Kazakhstan, one of the country's main grain growing areas, harvesting is coming to an end. Early estimates say the republic's harvest this year will be a record low. A serious drought has upset local farming to such an extent that some farm cooperatives and state-run farms are reluctant to begin harvesting because the amount of grain collected will not even compensate for the expenses. Thousands of hectares sown to grain have been used to feed cattle.

Experts say that Kazakhstan this year will collect no more than 16-18 million tons of grain.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev To Seek Developing Country Status at UN

OW1909221391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the process of integrating former Soviet republics in the world community Kyrgyzstan faces the problem of obtaining an official status of a developing country. Kyrgyz President Akayev will speak on it at the United Nations late next month. That was revealed in an interview with the INTERFAX correspondent by the President's expert consultant on social and economic questions Talay Koyrumanov.

In 1990 the gross national product per capita stood in Kyrgyzstan at 1,934 roubles, or 483 dollars at the exchange rate of 1:4. That places the republic in the group of low income countries—from 300 to 800 dollars-per-capita annually. Other members of the group are India, China, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and others. But proceeding from the market value of the rouble—32 to a dollar—Kyrgyzstan falls into the group of least developed stagnating countries.

Tajikistan

Aslonov Applies To Leave Communist Party

OW1909172291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Acting President of Tajikistan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, Kadriddin Aslonov, has applied for withdrawal from the Communist Party. He said his decision was motivated by the fact that the communist deputies who constituted a majority in parliament were putting pressure on him.

Mr. Aslonov believes that president of the republic must be guided by the interests of the whole of the nation, not of one party. Mr. Aslonov's application will be discussed on September 20 at a plenary meeting of Tajikistan's Communist Party.

The plenum will concentrate on the Tajikistan Communist Party's withdrawal from the Soviet Communist Party. It is expected to change the name of the party, amend its rules and procedures, and elect a chairman. The former leader, Kakhar Makhkamov, had been removed from this post for his policies during the coup.

Uzbekistan

Shakhlo Makhmudova Appointed Foreign Minister

LD2009034791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] For the first time in the history of Uzbekistan, a woman has been appointed to the post of republican foreign minister. In this post the 43-year old Shakhlo Makhmudova has replaced Sarvar Azimov, who has been released as minister in connection with his departure on a pension.

Shakhlo Makhmudova is taking her first steps in this field. She graduated from the Tashkent Institute of Textile and Light Industry, and worked in a Tashkent textile combine. For the greater part of her labor history she has participated in Komsomol and party work.

Defense Minister Views Ministry Tasks

NC1909104791 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1530 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] The newspapers in Uzbekistan have published an interview with Rustam Akhmadov, who was recently appointed Uzbekistan's defense minister, under the rubric: "Defending the Republic's Independence is The Main Task."

Replying to the questions asked about the objectives of the new ministry, Akhmadov said: The new ministry will coordinate the work of the military administrations and organize the work required for the enrollment of youths for military service. The ministry will also deal with the question of providing social services to the republic's military servicemen and their families.

Party Activities in Government, Schools Banned

NC1909102491 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1530 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov has issued a decree banning political party activities in the republic's government and administrative establishments and the education sector. The decree calls for the removal of party activities from the government and administrative establishments, universities and secondary schools, vocational and technical training establishments, and

general education centers in Uzbekistan. The decree said that the establishment of political party organizations, including other political movements, in the government and administrative establishments and the popular education domain will henceforth be prohibited.

Muruntau Gold Field Ranked Among World's Largest

PM1809112591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Kaipbergenov report under "PRAVDA Has Not Written About This Before" rubric: "Is Muruntau Our Klondike?"]

[Text] Tashkent—Everybody knows how much "white gold" is produced annually in Uzbekistan. However, the republic's involvement in the output of gold without quotation marks was known only to a very small circle of people. Approaches to the "Uzbekzoloto" Association and other related enterprises were signposted "Secret." The republic newspaper NARODNOYE SLOVO [THE PEOPLE'S WORD] has attempted to penetrate the veil of mystery.

It turns out that the Muruntau gold field in Bukhara Oblast can easily be ranked alongside the famous goldfields in the Klondike (United States) [as published], at Witwatersrand (Republic of South Africa), and at Kolar (India). They have been extracting precious metal of the highest purity at Muruntau for a quarter of a century. The gold is mined by the cheapest method—open-cut mining.